

THE
INVASION
OF PANAMA

Maclean's

The Maclean's/Decima Poll

An Uncertain Nation

Canada At A Crossroads



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THERE'S VODKA.



AND THEN THERE'S SMIRNOFF.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 1, 1990 VOL. 103 NO. 1

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10 OPENING NOTES

Postmen threaten to strike out of supersell-out; an alarum in Gender, Md., continues to dominate headlines; Darkness book sales cast a new light on the best-seller lists; army doctors treat in Los Angeles' "war zone"; Competition puts Madonna on its anniversary-issue cover; Metro Toronto offers health kits for the single traveller; a Czech side "turns out"; W. O. Mitchell gets a fit of the grumps.

12 COVER

46 CANADA

In the face of a public outcry over the cost of the submarine and concern about their safety, the Conservative government cancelled an \$8-billion plan to purchase a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines last April. Now, Maclean's has learned that top-level naval officers and officials in the department of national defence have proposed a new submarine program—one that keeps alive the dream of a nuclear navy.

52 WORLD

Faced with a spontaneous public outburst against his misfired regime, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu unleashed the full weight of his security forces on the western Transylvanian city of Tiszaország. Witnesses said that hundreds—perhaps thousands—of unarmed citizens were shot, bayoneted or crushed to death by tanks.

64 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

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COVER

AN UNCERTAIN NATION

Deep differences and uncertainties among Canadians are exposed in the sixth annual Maclean's/Decima poll, the most comprehensive survey of national opinion published in Canada. These divisions are most pronounced on issues of unity and especially on relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. But there is also uncertainty on subjects as varied as sex, economics and abortion.—12



WORLD

AMERICA'S WAR ON PANAMA

After Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega declared war on the United States and his troops fatally shot an off-duty American officer, President George Bush last week ordered an invasion of the Central American nation. One objective is to capture Noriega, wanted on drug-trafficking charges in Florida.—33



CANADA

A TAXING COMPROMISE

After months of unceasing criticism, Finance Minister Michael Wilson lowered the rate of his proposed Goods and Services Tax to seven per cent from nine per cent but that failed to satisfy many of the harshest critics of the tax, which is scheduled to go into effect in January, 1991.

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Locked In A Time Warp

The results of the Maclean's/Decima poll reported in this issue form a portrait of a nation that is more conservative, less generous and more divided than in any of the previous five years that the poll has been taken.

The findings are startling and disturbing. At a time when the world seems to be on the brink of a new era of hope and change and freedom, symbolized by the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Canadians at the end of 1989 seemed to be locked in a time warp, isolated and anxious about the future.

In fact, a clear majority of the 3,500 Canadians polled said they oppose extending Canadian aid to help rebuild the devastated economies of Eastern Europe, or would rather support domestic ones. And they reinforced a trend that first emerged clearly in a midyear Maclean's/Decima poll: the majority says that Canada should be making policies for immigrants from different cultural backgrounds rather than a multicultural nation.

One out of six Canadians said that they would like to see their province become a state of the United States, with full rights to elect representatives. In the U.S., fully one in four of those polled said that they would like to join the United States. These figures are not unusually alarming, but they are surprising. It is hard to imagine even one per cent of Britons saying that they would like to join France, say, under any circumstances. But in Canada, an abiding ambivalence about issues of identity seems to weaken the country's strength of nationalism.

The poll also showed that three-fifths of the Canadians polled outside of Quebec now say that if Quebec wished to become independent, the rest of the country should let the province go. Said Executive Editor Carl Miller, who supervised the organization, writing and presentation of the poll results: "The results are in many ways ambiguous. But they seem to show that we are learning to live with our diversity." Welcome to the 1990s.

Ron Doyle



Gordie Schubert and Assistant Art Director Gordie Schubert are ambushed about identity

Maclean's

DECEMBER 1, 1989 / NINETEEN HUNDRED EIGHTY-NINE

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LETTERS

RESPONSES TO A MASSACRE

The slasher of 14 women provides deep feelings ("Massacre in Montreal," Cover Dec. 10). Many women feel anxiety and outrage. Many can feel honor and shame. It may do us good to do some soul-searching. Like most of the things we do in society, violence is the hand of men. It is in the male's power and prestige. Aggression, backed up by authority, we expect and naturally. Without the threat or thrill of it, we are often bored. It motivates our advertising, our sports and entertainment. It refuels our desire for the sense of power and control. We need to acknowledge these women of Montreal, not just as victims of one man, but also as victims of the culture that is active in all men in many different ways.

Sheila Oberman,
Winnipeg



Montreal massacre: 'grief and outrage'

The tragic deaths and injuries of those university students in Montreal is indeed a sad commentary on our present-day lifestyle, and as further proof, if more proof is needed, that automatic, multiple-shot weapons have no place in our society and should be banned period. Certainly, there are many other factors involving these killers, but eliminating those killing machines would be a good place to start in searching for a solution.

Richard MacKinnon
Aldergrove, Ont.

The University of Montreal massacre will certainly bring forth great wrath against the aberrant killer, but the commentaries here again witness that the commentaries here and the commentaries for such cases. For a moment, I even felt ashamed to be made to feel. However, men and women must continue to trust each other; take heart; there are over 13 million men in Canada who are not murderers. This was not a low blow to mankind, for the perpetrator was merely an aberrant individual.

De Mousie E. Ailes
North Vancouver

SKYDOME FOR LENINGRAD?

After reading that a group of 25 "mostly Toronto-based entrepreneurs" are planning to renovate St. Petersburg ("To Rent and Cook," Cover, Nov. 13), I had the horrible thought that this group is going to do to St. Petersburg what they did to my Toronto. The Russians should be warned and, if they are considering turning these prep houses in Russia, urged to at least take another look at Toronto and its examples of that real type of accelerative bootstrapping: the G Tower, Ontario Place and the SkyDome.

Robert Thomas Allen
Sue City, Calif.

MEECH LAKE INTRANSIGENCE

In my view, Brian Mulroney, Robert Bourassa, Lowell Murray and company have done a gross disservice to the people of Canada by their unwillingness towards the Meech Lake accord over the past 30 months ("Stop-

ping back from the brink," Special Report, Nov. 10). Their attitude, if continued, will kill the accord.

Ron Balson,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

When will people realize that Timmins is more than a cottage and lumbering area? ("The 313-year war," Environment, Nov. 20)? It is the homeland of the Temagami Anishnabes (Deep River People). We have seen our land and water destroyed by clear-cutting, pollution and decisions made in the backs of people who have never set foot in the area. This is not only an environmental issue, it is a fundamental issue of human rights. We are in the same position as the native people in the rain forests of Brazil. Voices must be measured to allow native people the right to control our own destiny. When we have destroyed our own planet, where will we go?

Pats O'Neilson,
Second Chief of the Temagami
Anishnabes, Bear Island, Ont.

Letters are selected and may be condensed. Writers should supply full address and telephone number. Mail inquiries to Letters Editor, 1111 Bay St., Toronto, M5J 1A7.

PASSAGES

CHARGED: Michael Pawlakowski, 72, a retired Bethlehem, Ont., carpenter, with his crimes and crimes against humanity for the 1942 murder of 413 Jews and 10 anti-Semitic Poles, in Sverdlyovsk, in the Supreme Court of Ontario in Ottawa. A native Byelorussian who moved to Canada in 1951 and became a citizen in 1965, Pawlakowski was sentenced to be discharged from Canada. He could serve from 10 years to life. Hungarian-born Jozsef Finta, 72, a man on trial, accused of killing more than 1,000 Jews in Auschwitz and death camp at Treblinka, Poland, the day after his wife died, was granted bail. He pleaded guilty.



OBIT: Prime Minister of Grenada Herbert Blaize, 71, who was elected in the Caribbean island's first vote following the 1983 U.S. military invasion to curb a leftist government, of course, in his official residence in St. George's.

OBIT: Emmy-nominated actress Lee Van Cleef, 64, celebrated for his portrayal of ruthless outlaws, starting with his 1952 debut in a gangster film in High Noon as an apparent heart attack in his Orozco, Calif., home.

OBITUARY: Popular action therapist Thassaly Harton, 29, and Debra Wagner, 34, causing irreconcilable differences. The couple, who have a two-year-old son, married in 1986, after the end of a highly publicized relationship with U.S. Senator Robert Kerrey, then governor of Nebraska.

OBIT: Atlanta Falcons tight end Neal Beckman, 34, after the car in which he was riding was hit by a truck on an icy highway near the two team's Southwest, Ga., training camp. In November, teammate Ralph Narveson, 33, died in a car crash after falling asleep at the wheel.

OBIT: A seven-pound, 11-month boy, Marcus, to actress Brigitte Nielsen, 25, and her boyfriend, former football star Mark Gastineau, 33, in a Scottsdale, Ariz., hospital.

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OPENING NOTES

U.S. congressmen study the Gander crash, Donald Trump reveals nothing, and W.O. Mitchell gets rubbed the wrong way

WINNING NEW FRIENDS

WITH little progress reported in several talks between the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and post office management, representatives of the 46,000-member union say that 1990 could bring a nationwide postal strike. In their event, add core officials, the union will stress evidence that, if granted, will win widespread support: it showed that Canada Post kept its so-called superfluous in suburban areas. Indeed, core president Jean-Claude Parent noted that the independent Postal Services Review Committee recently expressed concern about the post office's plan to double the number of community mailboxes to more than 400,000 by 1992. Instead, their government watchdog committee wants better home delivery service for Canadians living in new subdivisions and rural areas. Off-duty letter carriers are already convening for support in new subdivisions on weekends, campaigning against community mailboxes. It can never hurt to get the public's stamp of approval.

Community mailboxes: increasing in new subdivisions



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY GOODMAN

A U.S. look at a Canadian air crash

THE worst aviation disaster in Canadian history occurred on Dec. 32, 1985, when a Cessna jetliner crashed shortly after taking off from Gander, Nfld. All 24 passengers—U.S. servicemen returning home from a tour of duty in Egypt—and all eight crew members殉葬了 the charred Avro Arrow flight were killed in the crash. Since then, Representative Bob Dornan has lobbied for a U.S. investigation, reporting the 1987 finding of the Canadian Aviation Safety Board that ice buildup on the plane's wings had caused the crash. Instead, the South Carolina Democrat argues that a terrorist bomb may have caused the accident. Now a House subcommittee is studying crash data in order to determine if a full inquiry is war-



Gander crash calls for congressional inquiry

anted. The subcommittee's report is expected some time next year—a finding that it may to interest U.S. and Canadian citizens alike.

THE NUMBERS ARE UNLISTED

With total sales of almost two million copies, *The Present Darkness* and its sequel *Piercing the Darkness* were among 1989's best-selling books. But U.S. author Frank Peretti's action-packed novels tales of warfare between angels and demons are not on North American best-seller lists—because they are sold largely in so-called Christian book stores. Said a New York Times spokesman: "The books do not sell well in general-interest bookstores and so don't make our list." Peretti's royalty cheques, however, are still available.

Practising surgery in a combat zone

Arthur Fleming, the chief of surgery at Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Hospital in south-central Los Angeles, describes the impoverished area as "a virtual war zone that is fought over by as many as 75,000 gang members, many of them armed with assault rifles and machine-guns." Fleming has convinced the U.S. defense department that the hospital would be a good training ground for doctors who want to learn how to perform combat surgery. Fleming's clinching argument, which won him the support of two doctors for two months since 1983, the number of gunshot victims treated at the hospital has risen rapidly.



Trumpe, Madonna: a singer for an anniversary issue, but no made tycoon

A COVER COUP AT COSMO

IT cover has been a launching pad for the careers of some of the world's top models, but, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the tenure of editor Helmut Newton, this year, *Cosmopolitan* magazine will feature a woman who is already famous to many readers: singer-actress Madonna. However, that the sultry movie star is also her first choice for an anniversary issue that will hit the stands April 1. Believing the coup, however, was Brown's idea that she had been unable to persuade Donald Trump to pose for

another feature—one profiling the publicity-seeking New York City real-estate tycoon (Cosmopolitan staff gained publicity when actor Kurt Russell posed semi-nude for a 1992 centrefold). In any event, Brown said that she is eagerly awaiting Madonna's appearance on a special *Salon* cover. For the occasion, the blonde actress chose a white, tight-fitting, mid-length gown by Versace designer Rafaël Orléan. Said Brown: "She likes close-up photos. She has a lovely bosom."

Playing with fire

FOR five years, Madeline (Mad) LeMesurier held a pressurized affair with John Crosby's special adviser during which



Crosby: hot issues

Itching to play the part

TAKE a break from writing, W.O. Mitchell, TE, and recently that he agreed to play an "old grump" on an episode of *Roseanne*, a 13-part sitcom set in a suburb of Chicago that's scheduled to begin on Jan. 7. Not to his financial detriment: the elderly screen author raised consternation on the set. The reason: Mitchell could eat infinite from his favorite bowl of坐着的豆子. As a result, the young crew reportedly had to comb through sand from Mitchell's mouth and nostrils—over the course of 10 days of filming. "I'm not a good-looking man," Mitchell admitted a bit during his break. "I'm showing a sign-off from the last working period of *Green Gabbin*. I think I'm still a good-looking man, but I'm not a good-looking man, either, and women had made me generate a growing beard in the cameras," said Mitchell. "I think I've ever been so uncomfortable and ugly in my life." Mitchell writes his own.



Mitchell: itself cast in his unattractiveness

the federal trade minister vigorously defended the *Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement*. But as Crosbie grappled with another hot issue recently—was Jayden in the Newfoundland fisheries—LeMesurier decided that he had had enough of politics and would not renew his contract with Crosbie. Said a courted LeMesurier: "I was burned out." Crosbie is still on the hot seat.



An Uncertain Nation

Disunity may be a permanent part of a definition of Canada — past, present and in the future

Canada is a distinct society, a country with special status in the international community as the only educational state. The door does not use a defining title. It is not, in any official usage, a kingdom, a commonwealth, republic or federation, much less a empire. Nor is it, in essence, an organic government partnership, as the document of the dominion borrowed at Confederation from the Biblical Psalm 72 by Canadians to define the country's twofold stage under God. "And He shall have dominion from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth." But for much of its history, and again now, Canada has been preoccupied with trying to define itself in more than territorial terms.

In terms of its people and politics, the attempts at a definition have often been stressed by the cleavage pull between provincial ambitions and the federal power; by Canada's historical linguistic duality, by regional grievances and especially by the waging and waning of national sentiment in Quebec. Now, the sixth annual MacLean's/Decima poll suggests profound and even bitter division among Canadians, not only over their definitions of Canada and what it should be, but also between linguistic groups and regions.

Evidence of deep divisions and uncertainties emerge most emphatically in the responses to poll questions on which, if any, and, above all, on relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Reports on the following pages detail those findings. Among them, on the last detailed Maclean's/Decima account, which is designed to include Quebec within the Constitution, majorities in every region but Quebec rate its chances of becoming law as slender. About half overall say that if the Meech Lake plan founders, as likely as that Quebec would then



choose to separate from Canada. And if Quebecers do it to separate, about half of those polled outside Quebec say that Canada should "just let them go."

With such responses, the poll respondents themselves demonstrate what a majority of them also conclude: that Canada has become more divided during the past few years. They illustrate that divisions as they appear to other questions, Ontario, two out of five people polled—residents in Western Canada—conclude that Canada would be better off with one single language instead of two simultaneous projections of people—residents in Quebec and Newfoundland—expressing a stronger attachment to their own provinces than to Canada.

The survey also indicates a warming of attitudes towards government during the last five years. In looking for leadership in matters that affect their personal economic interests, the poll shows that people have shifted away from government to business, apparently partly in the belief that government has encouraged the transfer of power to that sector of society. Options have changed sharply, and empirically, on other issues. Cuts of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, now that it is a reality, number more than half of those polled, compared with fewer than one-third immediately after last year's federal election. A majority say that the FTA has resulted in a loss of jobs in Canada. Fewer people than in recent years express satisfaction with their personal economic situation. Slightly more than one in four say that immigration predominately from Third World countries is a bad thing for Canada. Two-thirds oppose providing aid to help stabilize Eastern Europe.

The poll of 1,306 Canadians 18 or older was conducted by telephone from Nov. 3 to 8—the eve of a climaxed, three-day Ottawa meeting among Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 provincial premiers, which had bare their differences over the constitutional proposals. The poll included 96 sub-samples questionnaire operations on a diverse range of subjects—from early and the continuing to the short-term issue, from a proposed federal role to tax harmonization, legal affairs and foreign policy. About one-fifth of these polls agreed to follow-up telephone interviews by Maclean's reporters. This sampling averaged the introduction on Nov. 3 of proposed new federal abortion legislation.

It should come as no surprise that a federal Goods and Services Tax, to be levied in 1990, might raise in a lower rate than the proposed one per cent, but before it was reported that the rate might be seven per cent by the time Parliament is through with the legislation. Abrupt, revolutionary changes were under way in Eastern Europe, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney prepared for his late-

November visit to the Soviet Union, and President George Bush planned to meet Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in early December.

The results of the poll are considered statistically accurate for the whole population within a range of three percentage points, above or below the figure cited. 19 times out of 20. Unless otherwise indicated, the figures in the reports and charts on this and the following pages are rounded percentages. They do not always add up to 100 because a small number of nonresidents or "don't know" responses to some questions may be excluded from total counts. Overall, the Maclean's/Decima poll is

NATION OR PROVINCE?

Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first or as a citizen of your province?

	CANADIAN	PROVINCIAL
ALL CANADA	73	26
QUEBEC	44	55
NEWFOUNDLAND	47	53
P.E.I.	57	43
NOVA SCOTIA	68	37
ALBERTA	74	24
NEW BRUNSWICK	75	25
BRITISH COLUMBIA	83	17
SASKATCHEWAN	83	16
MANITOBA	84	15
ONTARIO	90	9

Note: Figures in chart are rounded percentages of total responses. They may not total 100 per cent in some loans because the charts exclude small percentages of poll respondents who gave other rapid or did not answer.

the most extensive annual survey of national feeling that is made available publicly in Canada.

Among the most compelling results of this year's poll are the responses that indicate that, about a decade after the country emerged from a crisis over Quebec's secession bid, Quebec, once Canadianists are inclined to accept the splintering of the country, is still the primary source of Canadianism. That includes the fading presence of a federalist identity. But this year, however, of the poll respondents also replied that, if they had their way, they would like to see Quebec leave Canada. Such feelings, prevalent more than 122 years ago, after Confederation, suggest that the country has learned to live with the recurring challenges to its survival as one territorial dominion that stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the St. Lawrence to the north polar expanse.

CARL MOLLINS



Differences that divide

Quebec's separation is widely forecast

His shifts as a conciliator are widely acknowledged. But when Brian Mulroney went down the 1984 federal election campaign to introduce harmony and cooperation to federal-provincial relations, even some of his supporters suggested that he was misjudging more than he could deliver. Five years later, most Canadians appear to have reached the same conclusion. Only 16 per cent of those interviewed for the sixth annual Maclean's/Decima poll said that the country has become more united since the Progressive Conservatives took office. By contrast, 36 per cent said that the state of national unity has not changed, while 54 per cent said that Canada is actually more divided now than in 1984. Observed political scientist Stephen Clarkson of the University of Toronto: "The results provide a clear indication of Mulroney's failure to deliver the love and happiness in federal-provincial relations which he promised in 1984."

The widespread sense of division was also evident in the responses to questions about the

future of Quebec. Forty-two per cent of those polled said that the prospect of Quebec deciding to separate from the rest of the country was no greater than it was a few years ago, while only 25 per cent said that the chances of separation were more remote. Significantly, Quebecers were much inclined than other Canadians to foresee a time when their province would leave the country. Fully 50 per cent of the respondents in that province said that separation was now more likely, compared with 22 per cent of those in other parts of the country.

Those findings say almost nothing to disprove proponents of a strong, united Canada. But although most respondents said that the country is now more divided, only a relative few appear to be worried about the current state of federal-provincial relations. Asked to identify the most important issue currently facing the country, only seven per cent named either national unity or the Meech Lake accord—the proposed constitutional amendment that, among other things, would recognize Quebec as a "distinct society" within Canada to settle its status in Canada first, while only 28 per cent said they felt a stronger bond with the provinces in which they lived.

But the responses differed markedly from region to region. Fully 96 per cent of Ontarians said that they thought of themselves primarily as Canadians, compared with 83 per cent of British Columbians, 79 per cent of Prairie residents and 63 per cent of Atlantic Canadians. In Newfoundland, which joined Canada in 1949, the sample was not evenly split. By contrast, 58 per cent of those polled in Quebec said that they thought of themselves as Quebecers first, while only 44 per cent said that they identified more closely with Canada.

Overall, the tendency to identify themselves as Canadians first was most pronounced among older respondents; those whose families income exceeded \$45,000 a year and those of European ancestry. French-speaking Canadians were those that most identified as French-speaking respondents to say that they thought of themselves first as Canadians. As well, rural people and those aged 18-34 were somewhat more inclined than other respondents to claim a primary identity with their home province.



Pritchett: "a profound lack of empathy and sympathy among English-Canadians towards French Canada, and vice versa"

of those polled said that they identified themselves as Canadians first, while only 28 per cent said they felt a stronger bond with the provinces in which they lived.

But the responses differed markedly from region to region. Fully 96 per cent of Ontarians said that they thought of themselves primarily as Canadians, compared with 83 per cent of British Columbians, 79 per cent of Prairie residents and 63 per cent of Atlantic Canadians. In Newfoundland, which joined Canada in 1949, the sample was not evenly split. By contrast, 58 per cent of those polled in Quebec said that they thought of themselves as Quebecers first, while only 44 per cent said that they identified more closely with Canada.

Overall, the tendency to identify themselves as Canadians first was most pronounced among older respondents; those whose families income exceeded \$45,000 a year and those of European ancestry. French-speaking Canadians were those that most identified as French-speaking respondents to say that they thought of themselves first as Canadians. As well, rural people and those aged 18-34 were somewhat more inclined than other respondents to claim a primary identity with their home province.

The sense of division felt by many of those surveyed for the poll was underscored by their answers to two additional questions. First, respondents were asked to name the region of the country with which they felt they had the least in common. Quebec was the leading choice of people in every region except in English Canada, where only 83 per cent of English Canadians named Quebec as their least common denominator. Of all respondents, 43 per cent of Ontarians and 38 per cent of Alberta Canadians. For their part, Quebecers felt least estranged from the three Prairie provinces and Ontario. Declared Dennis chairman: Alan GREE: "The results indicate a profound lack of empathy and sympathy among English-Canadians towards French Canada, and vice versa."

"Newfoundlanders," observed Ray Guy, a St. John's journalist and playwright. "They look at us as though we were a bunch of savages living off the weathered parts of the country." In Ontario, the country's most populous province, the results were more evenly distributed. 34 per cent of respondents in that province said that Canadians elsewhere had a negative view of Ontario, while 21 per cent said that they had a positive view of the province. But 63 per cent of those in Metropolitan Toronto said that, in general, in other parts of Canada viewed their province negatively, a recognition, perhaps, of the remnant non-Canadian distinct at Canada's largest and most diverse city. "There is a long-standing love-hate relationship between the country and Toronto," acknowledged Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton. But Eggleton suggested that many of those who criticize his city are ignorant of its virtues: "Once people in the rest of the country get to know us better, they will love us."

While Newfoundlanders and inhabitants of Metropolitan Toronto, residents of British Columbia appear almost smug about their province's reputation at the rest of Canada. Fully 60 per cent of BC respondents said that people in other areas of the country viewed their province positively; only 17 per cent said that British Columbia had a negative image. "Three



Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, Mulroney: divisions

MEECH LAKE'S CHANCES

Chances of Meech Lake accord becoming constitutional law



	LIKELY	UNLIKELY
B.C.	32	68
PRAIRIES	32	68
ONTARIO	37	62
QUEBEC	54	44
ATLANTIC	37	63
ALL CANADA	40	58



Malone and the 10 provincial premiers in Ottawa in November decisions that underlie a promise to strengthen safety

ish Columbians are immensely proud of their province—we are living in one of the most glorious places on earth," explained journalist and historian Bruce Hutchison, 58, who lives in Victoria. Still, Hutchison said that he was surprised to learn of the British Columbians who took part in the sniper raid that

"The prevailing legend up here is that people in the rest of Canada think we are just a bunch of cowboys."

But it was the responses to questions about Quebec that most clearly underscored the current mood of anxiety. Nationally, 74 per cent of the sample said that, given a chance they would like to see Quebec to separate from the rest of Canada. That attitude was shared more or less equally throughout the country, notwithstanding English speaking provinces, ranging from high at 80 per cent in Ontario to a low of 66 per cent in Manitoba, which has a long history of tensions between Englishspeakers and Frenchspeakers. But, according to Deveaux's Gong, the poll also suggests that Canadians outside Quebec are less inclined to want to do what Deveaux calls "the right thing" for the sake of fairness than are people in Quebec.

Non-Quebecers were divided almost evenly in their responses to a related question if a majority of Quebecers did, in fact, wish to separate, should the rest of Canada do everything possible to encourage them to

QUEBEC AND SEPARATISM

Under the Meech Lake accord, Quebec would have had to become law a bill whereby Quebec would choose to secede or not?

	195	196	to convince Quebec to stay?
ALL CANADA	47	50	00
S.C.	49	49	33%
PRAIRIES	38	56	46
ONTARIO	44	55	53
QUEBEC	60	36	43
ATLANTIC	41	46	45

Regardless of the Meech Lake accord's fate, is it likely that Quebec would choose to separate in the 1990s or not?

	1951	1956	1951	1956
ALL CANADA	41	57	ALL CANADA	26
S.C.	36	60	B.C.	29
PRAIRIES	34	63	PRAIRIES	23
ONTARIO	36	62	ONTARIO	35
QUEBEC	52	46	QUEBEC	33
ATLANTIC	37	60	ATLANTIC	29

If Quebecers did choose to separate, should the rest of Canada just let Quebec go, or do everything it can to convince Quebec to stay?

ALL CANADA	60	38%
B.C.	46	53
S.C.	56	43
PRARIES	54	45
QUEBEC	41	11

ONTARIO	43	55
QUEBEC	39	58
ATLANTIC	43	57

	192	193
ALL CANADA	26	71
B.C.	23	76
PRAIRIES	23	74
ONTARIO	15	50
QUEBEC	33	65
ATLANTIC	29	77

ong those who were most inclined to immigrate were western Canadians (55 per cent), Anglos (55 per cent), those of Eastern European backgrounds (54 per cent) and those of British Isles (53 per cent). Conversely, 63 per cent of those aged 18 to 24 and 65 per cent of those of Mediterranean descent said that Canada should strive to maintain Quebec's way.

The fact that almost half of the poll's respondents outside Quebec were willing to let Canadians leave Confederation without trying to change their minds struck Hirschman, for one, as "appalling." He added: "Anyone who loves Canadian history would realize that the loss of Quebec means, in simple terms, the death of Canada. I am horrified—or shown that these people have no understanding of Quebec and no understanding of the nature of Canada."

Other analysts, however, said that the results showed the extent to which English-Canadians, especially westerners, feel more affinity with Quebec. Declared Preston Manning, leader of the Alberta-based Reform Party of Canada: "There is a wistfulness in the West, a feeling that it is meant to accommodate the rest of Canada rather than the other way around." Added the University of Toronto's Chisholm: "In the West, there is a 'let the eastern bands issue' mentality that applies to Quebec." Still, Clarkson said that the findings were open to interpretation. "Before you analyse the results, you have to

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第二十一章



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THE NATION

know the tone of voice people are speaking in. Perhaps we should be proud of ourselves for recognizing Quebec's democratic right to secede from Canada."

In fact, the responses to other questions suggest that antipathy towards Quebec and the French language remains firmly entrenched in many parts of the country. The poll found that while the existence of two official languages made Canada a more attractive and better environment, it also raised fears of continued conflict and, as a result, the country would be better off with only one official language. Only in Quebec did a large majority—82 per cent—endorse bilingualism. The rest of Canada was split: 50 per cent favored two official languages, while 49 per cent would prefer to have only one.

As with other questions, the results differed significantly by region. Thirty per cent of B.C. respondents and 54 per cent of those on the Prairies opted for one official language, compared with 44 per cent of Ontarians and 47 per cent of Atlantic Canadians. Relative to other groups, opposition to bilingualism was the strongest in Quebec, Eastern Ontario, United Church members, and those aged 35 and older. "I have nothing against French, but I prefer it to be spoken down our throats," one respondent, Alie Miller, 35, a retired Canadian Armed Forces captain from Dartmouth, N.S., who agreed to a follow-up interview. "In the army, I have a list of qualified people who did not get promotions because they could not speak French."

To some extent, increased opposition to bilingualism may be a logical set of the battles between the provinces and Ottawa over the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Lloyd Barber, for one, president of the University of Regina, and that major western Canadian are convinced that Quebec already receives more than its fair share of federal spending. Moreover, he said, and this fear that such bias, if confirmed, would increase Quebec's power at the expense of English-Canada. "It is not so much that there is a genuine bilingualism, but they have at all the spoils going to Quebec and their response is 'It's not the French language.'

Differences in attitudes between Quebecers and other Canadians were also evident in the responses to questions about the Meech Lake accord itself. Sixty-three per cent of respondents outside Quebec said that they did not

expect the accord would be approved and become law. Within Quebec, only 64 per cent held that view. To be included in the Constitution, the accord needs the consent of Parliament and the 10 provincial legislatures by June, 1990. The governments of three provinces—Manitoba, New Brunswick and Newfoundland—have objected to parts of the

rise," said historian Jack Granatstein of York University in Toronto. At the same time, Granatstein noted that most published polls show widespread opposition to English-Canada's Meech Lake accord. "Either the public does not know what it wants or it does not understand what is in Meech Lake."

Indeed, the dominant belief among Canadians appears to be that the future of the Meech Lake accord is uncertain in the end. The largest group of respondents said that the accord's fate would make no difference at all to Canada. Of the rest, slightly more said that the accord's death would be good for the country (23 per cent) than that it would be bad (25 per cent). Ted Greenstein, a Toronto lawyer, "Those numbers would tell me to the core if I were Edna Maloney."

Similarly, 55 per cent of Canadians outside Quebec said that the prospect of Quebec separating from the rest of the country would not increase a Meech Lake claim. Those who expected Quebec to fail were also more inclined to believe that Quebec would not choose to separate as a result of the accord's failure, and that on balance the accord's death would be good for Canada. And 41 per cent of Quebecers said to separate the same majority of respondents said that the loss of federal revenues from the country would either reduce (16 per cent) or increase (15 per cent) its cost of living, and that Quebec's standard of living would decline after separation, and 56 per cent said that Quebec would not be able to survive as a country on its own.

In short, and Deacon's Anderson, the poll suggests that most Canadians outside Quebec see little reason why they should give in to that province's constitutional demands. "The strength of losing having this country together has probably weakened, and that shows up in attitudes towards Quebec and Meech Lake," he added. "Even though they do not want Quebec to secede, English-Canadian support has gone down and the consequences should never occur." And they are "less certain of the notion that they would be prepared to live without it if it came to happening." Meechans, who plans to continue his efforts to strengthen the hands of anti-secessionists, will have to address those underlying tensions if he hopes to salvage the Meech Lake accord from the political depths.

ROSS LAYER in Ottawa



Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, less fearful of losing Quebec



Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, Meech's key ally

respondents in every region except Ontario welcomed decentralization, and even in Ontario more people favored it than opposed it. "It suggests that Canadians do not want a strong central government and that regionalism is on



Opinions unlike the others

Quebecers disclose distinctive attitudes

The recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society" within the Canadian Confederation lies at the heart of the current debate over constitutional reform. Among the proponents of the Meech Lake accord, it is an article of faith that Quebec is distinctive within Canada by reason of its French-speaking majority and its culture. That concept has not been universally applauded outside of French Canada, particularly when it is coupled, as envisaged under the 1987 Meech Lake proposals, with the idea that Quebec's special status justifies constitutional authority to "preserve and promote" the province's unique identity. But the results of the 1988 Montreal *l'Opinion* poll indicate that Quebec is indeed distinct. The poll suggests that, on a number of critical issues, Quebecers do in fact hold different opinions and maintain attitudes that differ from the prevailing views among other Canadians.

It is on the fundamental national issues, those touching the very character of the country, that Quebec opinion diverges most sharply. Only in Quebec, for example, is there an overwhelming consciousness that having a bilingual nation is beneficial to Canada. As well, Quebecers are more than twice as likely as other Canadians to define themselves in purely linguistic terms. Other poll results indicate that most Quebecers feel the province is now headed towards separation. And a significant majority of Quebecers—now in their 30s—say they welcome that prospect.

As far as Meech Lake is concerned, Quebec is the only province in the country where most of those polled (54 per cent) say that they still believe the accord will eventually be ratified and become part of the Constitution. It is not, however, Quebecers who are alone in supporting a solid majority of respondents (60 per cent) arguing that the division of the Meech Lake agreement will accelerate the slide towards separation. And should the Meech Lake accord founder, the poll's findings suggest that only among residents of the province is there a majority conscious that Quebec's independence will have few, if any, negative economic ramifications.



Montrealers demonstrating for French-language rights split and estrangement

Not surprisingly, language is the issue that separates Quebec attitudes most clearly from those prevailing in the rest of the country. Eighty-two per cent of those polled in the province said that having two official languages makes Canada a more interesting and even a better country. Only 27 per cent of Quebec respondents, and the same proportion of French-speaking Canadians generally, viewed the 40th language statute of the country as a source of concern; one in four Canadians would be better off without. The findings outside of Quebec present a different picture. There, poll respondents split almost evenly between those who agreed that two languages make Canada "a more interesting and even better country" and others who said that "having two official languages is a source of constant conflict, and we would be better off with just one official language." The division is



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view between Quebec and respondents in the four western provinces, where a majority of 66 per cent replied that Canada would be better off with just one official language. Majorities in both Ontario (63 per cent) and the Atlantic provinces (57 per cent) said that two languages are better.

The gap between Quebec and most of the rest of Canada is almost as sharp when it comes to personal identity—the manner in which individual respondents define themselves as either Canadian or provincial. A majority of respondents in Quebec (55 per cent) said they think of themselves first as Quebecers, while 44 per cent said that they considered themselves Canadians first. Outside of the province, 46 per cent of the poll respondents said that they tended to think of themselves as Canadians first rather than residents of their home province. In that regard, at least, Quebec is not exceptional alone. In Newfoundland, which in 1949 became Canada's 10th and newest province, 53 per cent of the respondents said that they tended to think of themselves first as Newfoundlanders.

On the issue of Quebec separation, the opinions of Quebecers differ less markedly, although significantly, from those in the rest of the country. While half of the Quebec poll respondents said that the prospect of their province separating from Canada had become more likely during the past few years, a smaller proportion anticipated the outcome—39 per cent—shared that opinion. And while one in three of the Quebecers said that, if they had their way, they would like to see Quebec separate, one in five of the poll respondents outside Quebec and the western provinces (22 per cent) also favoured the idea of an independent Quebec compared with the slightly over 40 per cent who actually voted for the sovereignty resolution in the 1990 Quebec referendum.

But even though a 65-per-cent majority of Quebecers in the Maclean's/Decima poll said that they would like to see Quebec separate, significant minorities also expressed the opinion that the province could make it on its own. Sixty-two per cent of those polled outside the province said that they believed that an independent Quebec could survive as an independent nation. In answer to another question, 57 per cent of the Quebecers polled predicted that 20 years after a separation from Canada, an independent Quebec's standard of living would at least get no worse (46 per cent) or else it would improve (21 per cent).

Once again, the poll's results point to a divergence of opinion between Quebec and the rest of the country. In contrast to the attitudes most Quebecers, 62 per cent of those polled agreed that Quebec's greatest challenge was to develop Quebec's political autonomy. And 70 per cent of those respondents said that if Quebec did separate, living standards within Quebec over the next decade would decline.

Several differences divide Quebec and other parts of Canada concerning the age cohort that was originally designed to make the province a fully participating member of the country's



BILINGUALISM-MULTICULTURALISM

Does having two official languages make Canada a better place or would it be better off with only one official language? And does being multicultural make Canada better or would it be better off with one culture?

	Bilingual Better	One language Better	Multicultural Better	One culture
CANADA	58	41	68	30
B.C.	40	60	78	21
PRAIRIES	45	54	70	26
ONTARIO	53	46	68	29
QUEBEC	82	17	64	35
ATLANTIC	57	41	66	33

Constitution. Only in Quebec did the Maclean's/Decima poll record a majority—54 per cent—who said that they believed the Bouchard-Taylor accord still stood a chance of becoming law. What is more, while 60 per cent of those polled in Quebec voiced the opinion that a failure to ratify the agreement would likely lead to Quebec's separation, the view in the rest of Canada was almost exactly the opposite. Fewer than half the respondents outside Quebec (43 per cent)—and the dense of French Lake would likely draw the province away from Confederation.

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Several differences divide Quebec and other parts of Canada concerning the age cohort that was originally designed to make the province a fully participating member of the country's

Chart, as the results of the Maclean's/Decima poll indicate, there does appear to be something distinct about Quebec. It is a difference that most other Canadians seem to instinctively recognize. When respondents were asked which region of the country they felt they held the least in common with, the largest proportion in every province outside Quebec—57 per cent in the four western provinces—named that province. Quebec respondents disagreed the strongest; 43 per cent of them saying that they felt most estranged from the West and 31 per cent citing Ontario. For most people, north-south and outside Quebec who are still concerned about the future of the Canadian Confederation, the poll results together provide a disconcerting expression of attitudes.

BARRY CAMEL in Montreal



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A distrust of government

Reliance on business grows stronger

I stopped short of alarm. We were most of the Canadians surveyed for the annual Maclean's/Globe poll dissatisfied with their economic position after seven years of the longest-lasting economic boom since the Second World War. Still, there was an understandable concern across the nation. Even as memories of the painful recession of 1981 and 1982 continued to fade, a clear majority of those polled predicted that Canada would again be tipped into an economic downturn in the opening months of the new decade. And, despite the optimism that most expressed about their personal economic outlook, the numbers of those who were pessimistic were higher than at any time since 1986. (Observed Decima chairman Alan Gregg: "Economic anxiety is growing.")

On the surface, it is the evidence that Canadians are casting aside what historians and political scientists have argued for decades as a deeply constitutional characteristic their reliance on government to protect the livelihoods of ordinary citizens. An earlier indication of that perception emerged last July, when Maclean's reported that Canadians responding to an earlier Decima poll actually expressed more distrust of government than did Americans. Now, that trend has emerged even more clearly. Decima's researchers asked Canadians whom they depended on most "to look after your best economic interests: government, business or unions?" Fifty per cent of those polled replied "business." Only 25 per cent answered "government." Another 15 per cent said "unions," and 13 per cent expressed no opinion. That outcome almost reversed the findings of a similar question that the Maclean's/Globe

poll asked five years ago, when 48 per cent of respondents put their trust in government—compared with 32 per cent who placed their confidence in business.

And the result left some experts groping to reassess their traditional analysis of Canada's political culture. "The use of the same puns," acknowledged John Wilson, a political scientist at the University of Waterloo in Ontario and director of the Centre for Election Studies in that city. He added: "We do not have a free-enterprise, 'look-after-yourself'—a word—"America"—view of ourselves as we have." But other observers traced the apparent change in attitude that ranged from the sweeping repudiation of socialism to support for Justice Minister Marc Lalonde. Most frequently repeated assertions that Canada's large federal budget deficit constitutes Ottawa's single major contribution to the economy are far from being business as usual, though to

debtors like Sudi Gregg: "Rather than people being concerned about business, it is people being really daunted about government."

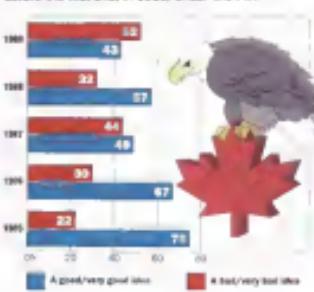
In fact, Gregg said that Canadians see little direct link between the actions of government and the interests of industry. "Unfettered free enterprise has caused social dislocations that have people very scared," he said. At the same time, he said that the business sector has failed to renew its position to the public's new confidence in an economic leadership. Sudi Gregg: "The private sector has not taken this mandate of public confidence and acted responsibly. If anything, they have acted irresponsibly."

That conclusion may give the country's political leaders cause for reflection. So will some other priorities of the electorate revealed by the Maclean's/Globe poll. For one thing, Canadians who were asked to identify the most important issue facing the country were more likely to name the environment than any other issue. Eighteen per cent cited it as the leading issue now, compared with only two per cent in 1987, 28 per cent predicting that it would dominate the 1990s. The second most cited issue, the federal government's proposed new Goods and Services Tax, named by 15 per cent as the top issue. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had already acknowledged that the GST is "very important" and recently the Conservative budget had been amended to do a little to take account of environmental problems. But this month, federal officials conceded that a sweeping new environmental law, promised by year's end, could not be ready until March.

On the bright side for the Tories, only a handful of respondents (seven per cent) named free trade as the nation's most important issue, compared with 42 per cent in 1985. On the other hand, when asked to judge whether the year-old agreement has, on balance, created or cost jobs in Canada, most respondents said that free trade has destroyed more jobs than it has produced.

Other responses offered revealing insights into the different moods of Canadians in the various regions across the country—and into the attitudes of differing age income, religion and education groups. Quebec respondents, for one thing, were less pessimistic than their Ontario neighbours about the likelihood of a recession; British Columbians were the most sceptical by the importance of the environment; and respondents in Atlantic Canada and Ontario considered the GTR to be a bigger issue than pollution. National unity was considered to be the country's most pressing challenge only

Opinions on the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, before the fact and, in 1989, under the FTA



Liberians crowd in Toronto, a majority predicted an economic downturn



looking to business (42 per cent) was the second smallest of any region—compared with 38 per cent in Atlantic Canada. Observed Harry Odgaard, 46, a heating engineer in central British Columbia and a member of the provincial Hospital Employees Union: "Most companies pay their workers as little as possible. And in British Columbia, the government is not needed, it's unnecessary. Without unions, we would not have our present standard of living."

At the same time, it was clear that among seniors, as ever, there was a strong reliance on government, concern stronger. Respondents whose household incomes were below \$16,000 a year and those with only an elementary school education were more likely to trust government than business to look after their interests. So too, were respondents approaching retirement, between the ages of 55 and 64. By contrast, the reliance on business to look after economic interests was greatest among those 25 to 34 years old. And, in general, people's confidence in business increased with education and income.

For his part, Thomas d'Agata, president of the Ottawa-based Business Council on National Issues—which represents the chief executive officers of 150 large Canadian corporations—said that he welcomed the apparent shift of focus of Canadians' economic aspirations from the public to the private sector. And he offered a handful of possible reasons for the change. "I think what's happening is part of a global trend," d'Agata told Maclean's, drawing attention to the fact that, in such diverse countries as Ireland and Australia, socialist governments have endorsed market-driven economic principles.

In addition, he noted, Canadians emerged in 1982 from a sharp recession that underscored the weaknesses of such interventionist economic policies as the Maastricht Energy Program. Since then, d'Agata says, "Canada has had in the last seven years the highest growth record in the industrial world, with the exception of Japan. At the same time, we are being told that Canada is moving—faster in relative terms—to a market economy."

Many Canadians, d'Agata added, have concluded from that experience that business is a more reliable architect of prosperity than is government.

The Rev. Ravi Kishenam, executive director of the 1,100-member Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty Organization, said that the new confidence in business may bring a more moderate bent. She added: "If most of those results personally depress you, it doesn't surprise me. The last 10 years, this government has not been a government that has said, 'We will look after your economic interests.' This government has abdicated its responsibility in the economic realm. It has said, 'Don't rely on us.' And we haven't."

In fact, Gregg said that other re-



What is the most important issue facing Canada today? And in the 1990s?

ISSUES	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
ENVIRONMENT	*	*	2	10	25	29
GST	*	*	*	*	38	9
INFLATION/ECONOMY	16	12	32	5	10	8
DEFICIT/GOVERNMENT	6	10	10	6	30	8
NATIONAL UNITY	*	*	*	*	3	4
FREE TRADE	2	5	36	42	7	5
ABORTION	4	*	*	6	3	3
EMPLOYMENT	45	39	20	10	6	6

*Not cited by a significant number of poll respondents

ISSUES

search conducted by Berrien indicates that Canadians have indeed abandoned their traditional confidence at governments to spur an economic recovery and protect livelihoods—a pattern that gave the country such symbols of public virtue as the Canadian National Railway as well as such enduring emblems like elephants in the perennially money-loving Sydney Steel Corp. Noted Gruen: "People have never had less faith in government than they do now." Despite that, he said that the doubles-Canadians have embraced the bottom-line priorities of the moderate-wheelchair-bound DeGraw. "People are saying, 'Look at the economic dislocations that the market is causing.'"

As a result, he said that Canadians would in the future demand that governments act more firmly to rein in the excesses of the marketplace—notably in such areas as the environment, employment benefits and consumer protection. Canadians, he said, are saying to government, "We don't want you to set the rules, but we want you to set the rights and guarantees for us." In that regard, Red Deer's Gruen dreams:

"There has to be a sense of checks and balances. The notion of business is to make money, and you can't expect a corporation to have a consciousness about social or environmental and social standards."

But, for the present, most Canadians say that they are "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their economic situation—per cent of respondents—and more than two-thirds in every region—were content with their situation. Sixty per cent said that they were not content to date. Temperance that positive balance, however, was the fact that the number of dissatisfied respondents has risen 16 per cent over one year ago and now sits at a level not seen since 1985. Half of the respondents from households with household incomes of \$10,000 to \$34,999 fully 60 per cent of them with household incomes below \$10,000 described themselves as content with their situation. And among those poll respondents whose household incomes were above \$35,000, 87 per cent of respondents declared that they were satisfied or very satisfied.

Meanwhile, 77 per cent of satisfied respondents said that their economic situation was satisfactory, but among dissatisfied respondents that figure fell to 57 per cent. Stephen Johnson, 33, a courier driver in Vancouver who



Anti-PCB protest at Baie-Comeau, Que., cleanup

"very optimistic," that figure was lower than in any year since 1985. Students were the most optimistic, respondents said that only some high school students were less so.

And the general pessimism assessment of personal prospects was at variance with the widely gloomy forecasts that the respondents offered for the economy at large. No fewer than 68 per cent of those polled predicted that the economy was heading into a "mild" or "severe" recession by year's end, while 13 per cent predicted economic improvement. Regrettably, the pessimism was greatest in Ontario, where 64 per cent of those polled forecast a recession. The country's most pessimistic region was Quebec: only 58 per cent of Quebecers said that they saw a downturn coming, and respondents from that province were almost twice as likely as those in Ontario to forecast an economic improvement. One reason for the difference between the neighboring provinces, said Jacques Guérin, director of research for the Montréal-based Centre de politiques du Québec (Quebec Policy Council), may be that, while Ontario's economy continues to stand up better than most, notably housing prices, "In Quebec, things are more volatile."

But among economists, there was a growing consensus that the pessimistic outlook imposed by most of the Canadians polled may prove to be present. In Ottawa, Michael McCracken, president of the private economic forecasting company Informetrics Ltd., said that his company is predicting, at best, one-per-cent economic growth in Canada in 1989. But McCracken acknowledged that any one of several factors—including a slowdown at the U.S. economy, a federal tax increase and business and consumer uncertainty over the effects of the cut and other policies—could lower that figure to below zero. If that economic contraction continued for more than two quarters, it would constitute a recession. Declared McCracken: "It could see us slipping into a recession that would be much more prolonged and deeper than the conventional wisdom forecast."

For his part, Giles Rhéaume, director of forecasting for the Ottawa-based Canadian Board of Trade—a nonprofit independent economic research agency—reduced McCracken's assessment that the weak growth forecast for 1989 could slip easily into a recession if that happened. Rhéaume added, "Many Canadians who have seen their real disposable

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ECONOMIC SATISFACTION



Are you satisfied with your present economic situation?

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
SATISFIED	73	74	76	83	73
DISSATISFIED	27	26	21	16	26

What about your future economic prospects?

	OPTIMISTIC	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
PESSIMISTIC	19	16	15	13	19	19

Taking Canadian-law couples always have that sense of inadequacy in the lack of their funds. It makes you little bit realistic. That's what you want; that extra financial security, just in case."

Further evidence of Canadians' mounting sense of financial insecurity appeared when respondents were asked to rate their future economic prospects. Although 48 per cent of those polled described their outlook as "optimistic" if that happened, Rhéaume added, many Canadians who have seen their real disposable

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ISSUES

income rise by three dollars per cent a year since 1983, is expected to set their prosperity decline during the next 13 years. In fact, Shattock added, "If Finance Minister Michael Wilson comes out with a further tax increase in 1990, this is going to erode disposable income even further."

At the same time, the issues that preoccupy Canadians as they enter the century's final decade are likely to present challenges for both business and government. The environment was named as the most important issue facing the country by the largest single group of those surveyed—18 per cent. The GST was next, selected by 15 per cent. The concern about the environment was in stark contrast to the past two years, when free trade dominated Canadians' view of the national agenda, while the environment was cited by two per cent and 16 per cent of respondents in 1987 and 1988 respectively. This year, every age-group up to 35 shared the heightened concern for the environment, but young respondents expressed their interest most emphatically. One of them, Bruce Robertson, 22, a Vancouver graduate student, in classes at the University of British Columbia, told Maclean's in a follow-up interview: "We have so much more to live off than the outer layer. We generate off and the end products of garbage we produce. And our actions in Canada affect the rest of the world. By our use of fossil fuels, for example, we contribute to everyone's."

The emerging environmental preoccupation with the environment, as reflected in the poll, may encourage groups that are pressing for a more active government response to pollution. Deane David Bratton, spokesman for Toronto-based Pollution Probe, an environmental advocacy group, "Politicians are going to have to stop paying lip service to the environment and outline in much more detail what they mean by statements like 'Let's do something.' People are finally saying, 'Put your money where your mouth is.'

Brian O'Connor's McCrindle noted that the cleanup may demand more money than even environmentalists were prepared to pay. When telecommunications regulators began to estimate the cost of cleaning up Canada's air and water, he told Maclean's, they quickly reached the staggering sum of \$50 billion.

Only one issue challenged the environmentalists for top ranking among all polled nationally, 15 per cent rated Ottawa's contentious GST as the country's most pressing issue. The proposed federal tax on most goods and services was cited most often by those in Ontario, the Prairies and Atlantic Canada. One reason for that, said Grings: "We have seen a huge jump in the perception that, when the government acts it is for the private sector's benefit." As a result, he added, many Canadians are sus-



Pulp mill on Vancouver Island: an emerging national preoccupation with the environment

pects of the new tax without fully understanding its workings. The challenge for the Tories, Grings concluded, is to change the impression that they act principally in the interest of business. Said Grings: "If they can shift from saying 'We know best how to get along with business' to saying 'We can best contribute or force business to be morally responsible,' then they will become more popular."

And there was a further challenge to the Conservative government contained in Cana-

n's judgment of the one-year-old Free Trade Agreement. Since Maclean's asked Canadians about the trade pact a year ago, many appear to have come round to it. In the current poll, 52 per cent of respondents judged free trade a "hot" or even "very hot" idea, compared with 32 per cent judging the 1988 federal election. The number of those who said that they support the free trade agreement has risen to 45 per cent from 37. In fact, 36 per cent said this year that the economy has improved in a lot of jobs, compared with only 36 per cent who predicted a loss of employment last year.

Free trade, however, appears to rank low among the concerns of Canadians, only seven per cent of respondents said that it is the country's most pressing issue. The same number cited the North Lake constitutional accord and national unity. Most of those in the dual category, moreover, were among older Canadians—only two per cent of those under 25 identified unity as a leading issue. That concerned Edmonton publisher Bill Hartig, a veteran advocate of a more assertive Canadian nationalism. Added Hartig: "There is an obligation of participation by the younger generation of our country. They may be taking for granted something that they are in danger of losing, without even realising it."

But among a majority of Canadians, clearly, the millennium is approaching as a sort of satisfaction, tempered with a degree of apprehension. Whatever uncertainties surround the economy and the environment, Canadians appear optimistic that, individually or not always collectively, they will prosper in the future.

Which of these sectors best looks after your economic interests?



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VIA RAIL

Doubting the motive

Most Canadians mistrust the government's promises about Via

Canadians were well prepared when, on Dec. 1, Federal Transport Minister René Boisjoly announced drastic cutbacks in Via Rail's operations. For months, senior Conservatives had made no secret of the fact that they believed rail passenger rail service in Canada was inefficient and unprofitable, making the Crown corporation a prime target in Ottawa's efforts to reduce its \$30-billion deficit. Beginning on Jan. 15, Boisjoly said, half of Via's services would disappear along with 2,381 jobs. Then, speaking in the House of Commons three hours later, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney argued that the cuts would make Via more competitive. "We have taken this decision to save Via Rail," he said. Despite the assurance, many critics assumed uncertainty. For them, the cuts could mean what they believed was the government's real intention: to completely eliminate Via. That same conclusion was a key finding in the annual *Morley/VDeecke poll*.

According to the poll, despite the government's promise to save Via, 74 per cent of those surveyed said that they believed the cuts were actually, in the words of the question, "a first step to getting rid of passenger rail service altogether." Only 23 per cent said that the cuts were "to help save Via Rail and make it strong in the future." That result suggested that there is a broad constituency gap between what the government says is true and what many Canadians believe. Observed Deesee chairman Alan Gregg, the majority of those polled who distrusted the government's Via poll also felt that whatever extra money Ottawa might get from the planned Goods and Services Tax would be "wasted and unnecessary." Argued Railoff: "They are wasting more money than they ever have before."

René Boisjoly, 29, was one of the respondents to the poll who said that he does not believe the federal government's word about planning to save Via. "I do not trust them," he said in a subsequent Morley interview. Railoff, a Port Moody, B.C., hospital maintenance engineer who volunteered to be interviewed after the full survey, added that his instinct of

the Mulroney government has grown since it was first elected in 1984 because it is "so much into big business." Even some people who, in their poll responses, said that they believe the Conservative forecast about passenger service expressed skepticism in later interviews about government promises generally.

While people who questioned Ottawa's intentions for Via's future were found across the country, the greatest percentage of them

said the service in the long run, just over 32 per cent of French-speaking people across the country expressed the same view, compared with 20 per cent of English-speakers.

Gregg noted that the entire Via issue has been further complicated by the fact that, while less than 10 per cent of Canadians use the railroad, the vast majority of people surveyed in other polls have said that they do not want to lose it or are opposed to cuts. In an April/Gallup



Via train taking on water and diesel fuel: 'a first step to getting rid of passenger service.'

were on the East and West coasts, 88 per cent of those surveyed in Atlantic Canada and 84 per cent in British Columbia. The poll also showed signs that many Canadians believe economic resources: 79 per cent of those polled who distrusted the government's Via poll also felt that whatever extra money Ottawa might get from the planned Goods and Services Tax would be "wasted and unnecessary." Argued Railoff: "They are wasting more money than they ever have before."

The *Morley/VDeecke* poll indicated that there was skepticism about the Conservative government's Via policy in Quebec and by French-speaking Canadians across the country. Nearly 15 per cent of the Quebecers polled—the highest percentage in any region—said that the Via cuts were aimed at

pol, 89 per cent of those surveyed said that it would be a bad thing if passenger rail service were dismantled. Thus, in a separate Angus Reid Associates poll released in August, 58 per cent of the respondents reported that they were opposed to the sunblock cuts to Via announced in Finance Minister Michael Wilson's April budget.

As the public debates over Via Rail have shown, the Conservatives have a long way to go to convince many Canadians that they have taken the right approach to rail passenger service. But as the *Morley/VDeecke* poll suggested, Mulroney and his followers will likely continue to have a tough uphill battle to persuade people that the government means what it says.

GREG W. TAYLOR

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HOMES

Out of reach

Home-buyers divide over price controls

Throughout 1989, it was a familiar problem for new home-buyers: three years of rising prices, together with relatively high interest rates, had pushed the cost of owning even a modest home beyond the means of hundreds of thousands of Canadians. The worst crisis is in Toronto, where the price of a medium-sized, two-storey, three-bedroom house in the city's middle-class High Park area soared to \$340,000 in October, from \$110,000 two years ago. But prices have also risen dramatically outside Canadian cities, including Vancouver, where the cost of a two-storey detached house at the city's west side has risen to \$400,000 in October, compared with \$150,000 in 1987. Still, the 3,500 responses to the sixth annual Maclean's/Decima poll showed that Canadians are sharply divided when asked whether governments should institute controls on housing prices.

An overwhelming 72 per cent said that housing prices in the areas where they live have climbed more sharply than have prices for other goods and services during recent years. But only 47 per cent of those polled believed governments should regulate the price of housing, compared with 52 per cent who were against the state taking action on prices. At the same time, their answers showed a sharp divergence in opinion depending on net income level and where the respondents lived.

The regional differences were particularly sharp. Respondents from Ontario's Prairie provinces, where housing prices are still far lower than in parts of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec, were the strongest opponents of government controls. About 50 per cent of respondents from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta believe

that governments should intervene.

One woman who exemplified the firmly independent Prairie response was Ruth Watson, 68, who lives with her husband in a two-bedroom house in Saskatoon. She told *Maclean's* in a follow-up interview that so many Canadians forget that owning a home is a



Buying a model house: people are paying "a larger portion of their income on mortgage payments."

luxury, not a right. Added Watson, who bought her first house in 1963 in Ottawa for \$7,500: "I have always felt that people should look after themselves rather than expecting the government to come in and take over their bills."

There was ambivalence on the issue within

the areas that experienced the biggest housing price increases. Only 46 per cent of respondents in eastern Ontario and 47 per cent from British Columbia favored limits.

But the view was different in Quebec, which emerged as the strongest province in its support for government price controls. Overall, 56 per cent of Quebecers said that they believe in more, rather than less, government control of housing prices. Jean Arsenault, 31, a treasury technician in Beauport, Que., near Quebec City, and that government has a duty to control rising house prices, which have become a burden for young and lower-income Canadian families. "For years now, salaries have not kept pace with inflation and people have had to pay a larger portion of their income on rent or mortgage payments."

Other notable trends emerged from the poll. For one thing, 54 per cent of women

said that the government should become involved in housing prices—compared with 38 per cent among men.

The poll also indicates that support for government involvement is highest among lower-income Canadians. A remarkable 68 per cent of respondents from households with an annual income of less than \$25,000 said that the government should control housing prices. About 56 per cent of wealthier Canadians—those with a household income over \$45,000 annually—favoured a bigger role for government. Clearly, the division runs deep over whether the government or the forces of the free market should determine housing prices.

HOUSING PRICES

Would you say housing prices in the past few years have risen more or less than other prices in your area?

	STUDENTS	WORKERS	DYING PAYROLL	BC CANADA
RISING MORE	57	70	68	44
RISING LESS	5	5	3	18
THE SAME	37	24	9	37

If more governments take steps to control prices or play no role?

	CONTROL	NO ROLE
STUDENTS	50	55
WORKERS	47	45

JOHN DE MONT



Wilson in the House of Commons introduced a bill that proposed that revenue from the new federal sales tax would be concentrated

Resisting a new tax

The selling of a new duty falters against popular mistrust

Promoting the Goods and Services Tax through the spring and summer was a painful lesson in failed public relations for the government of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Relaxed efforts by Finance Minister Michael Wilson to present the sales tax as an equitable way to strengthen the economy were foiled by the budget deficit, signed off by the Commons finance committee, chaired by government backbencher David Blackford, did not appear to raise the levels of public support. Was the government under pressure to compromise? Wilson finally announced on Dec. 14 that the rate would be reduced to seven per cent from the originally proposed five per cent. And to reassure Canadians that the GST is a phenomenally

cutting its own spending, a series of austerity measures were made public only days before the Wilson announcement. Still, gaining the support of taxpayers for the GST may continue to be difficult. This year's Macdonald-Decima poll, taken in November, indicated widespread skepticism. More than two out of three poll respondents said that even if the new tax increased government revenues, that money would be spent and misspent.

As indicated by the December government announcement its pledging consistency and presenting a lower rate of sales tax, winning public support for the tax is one of the government's top priorities. Said Finance chairman Alan Gregg: "The tax will be an ongoing political liability unless the government is able to consistently demonstrate that it has educated itself

program to deal with its own waste and inefficiencies.¹ So deal with accusations that the government's new spending was wasteful and mismanaged while it was still planning to lay a new road, the government invented a program of "preemptive" special calls and fee increases.² In 15 years over three financial budgets and in the first 15 months of the new budget, the government had added up to \$4.4 billion less cash per cent of the projected 1990-1991 annual budget.³ Whois, who had said that "difficult trade-offs" would have to be made to accommodate a change in the GST rate? The answer is by half the planned tax credits for lower-income Canadians. But the measures were not all aimed at the critics. Opposition leaders said that even the increase in the GST rate to seven per cent could do little to reduce the budget deficit. Who was right?

Abbotsford Adams Lake
Agassiz Annerfield Springs
Aynor, Alton Aldergrove
Allo Lake Annes Lake Island
Armstrong Aspen Grove
Athelmer Battleaville
Birch Island Blackcombe
Boston Bar Brackendale
Brentwood Bay Brillont
Burton Lake Brandy
Burnt Lake Cache Creek

Genelle Gajdak Head,
Cloud Forks Granhams,
Cloud Block, Hormoc

North Vancouver Oak Bay
Okanagan Langley Oliver
Osoyoos Penticton Victoria

Sorris, Sevone. *Seymour*.
Seventy Miles House,
Blenheim, N.Z. 1886.

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Cassidy Cascader Cedars
Cedarside Celio, Chon
Chekways, Chilliwack,
Clemonete Station, Cint
Cubicle Hill, Canas,
Canadian Crossroads



Crescent Beach, Gislen,
Dawson Creek, Delta
Departure Bay, Duncan,
Eka, Esquimalt, Esquimalt
Esquimalt, Fairy Bay
Fanny Flagg, Fair-Forest,
Fort Langley, Fort St. James
Fort St. John, Fraserton,
Glenelg Island, Goldstream
Gordon Head, Heriot Bay.



Homer Hot Springs
Hotac Hotac Lake
Hazelton, Hedley
Hedley Creek Hoon, Hope,
Horseshoe Bay Heester
Invermere Iaco Joffray
Kaleden Kenville Koilo
Kawano Katsay Bay Karl
Kettle Valley Kimberley
Kingsgate Kitchen Kintail

New Haven, New Haven
North Delta, North Spanish

Westland, Remington,
Fenton, Jim McDonald
Popkin, Paul Allens
Port Coquitlam, Peter Hardy
Port Moody, Fowl River,
Prince George, Prince Rupert
Port Coquitlam, Qualicum Beach,
Quinsel, Reichenlecke
Richmond, Rock Creek
Rogers Pass, Rossdale,

Tean Valley Towns,
Tofino, Tofino Trail
Trompoule Townswomen,
Tumbler Ridge, Ucluelet,
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TAXATION

Party Leader Andrew McLaughlin: "Seven per cent doesn't change the fact that those who are least the most are the ones who pay the most. People are not saying they don't want to pay tax, but they want it to be fair."

The campaign to prevent the tax hit several obstacles. When it was first announced on April 25, government officials said that the GRT would be a revenue-neutral tax. No issue money would accrue to the government under the GRT. When seen that the government now receives from the manufacturers sales tax, which the GRT is intended to replace. The manufacturers tax, levied at a rate of 13.5 per cent, applies to about one-third of all goods produced in Canada and is hidden in the retail price of goods.

But at the poll of 1,200 Canadians, 76 per cent said that they believe the GRT will bring in more money for the federal government. Almost half of all respondents—47 per cent—and those revenues will be substantially higher than under the existing tax. According to Gingras, the idea of revenue neutrality was empty and believed by a majority of Canadians.

The other obstacle has apparently had difficulty convincing Canadians that additional GRT revenues will be used to reduce the federal budget deficit, now more than \$30 billion. But at the poll, 70 per cent of respondents said that new revenues created by the tax will be wasted andunnecessary. Only 20 per cent said that the tax would be used to reduce the deficit. And nine per cent said that



Black and white photo of Andrew McLaughlin, leader of the Canadian Alliance party, speaking at a public hearing.

THE LIMITS TO HONESTY

By their own account, in answers to the Marliese-D'Amico poll, Canadians are overwhelmingly honest about money. Poll respondents were asked to suppose that they had a wallet containing both \$500 and the identification of the owner. Would they return it? At the same time, they took the cash and counted the wallet. Or would they take the money and then return the wallet? About everybody in the poll—96 per cent—and that they would return the wallet—and the money. Even most of the remaining few who admitted that they would make off with the \$500 and that they would take the trouble to return the wallet.

Not every open question showed that there are limits to honesty, if it means extracting the police with the cash. Poll respondents who said that they would return the find to its owner were asked what they would do if the wallet lacked any

identification. Would they hand it over to the police or keep the cash? In both cases, 60 per cent said they would turn it in the wallet and the \$500. Including a small number of respondents who did not consider themselves, the remaining 35 per cent nevertheless said that they would keep the money. Regrettably, Quebecers were less likely to return the find to the police, 50 per cent of them stating that they would keep the money if its owner were unidentified.

Quebecers also stressed that they have a smaller sense of personal honesty than others in their own and other hypothetical situations, according to the poll.

Poll respondents were asked to choose among five possible careers in which "you could be one of the most successful people in the world." The leader success in business, the choice of 34 per cent across Canada. That was followed by sports (22 per cent) or writing (20), politics (11) and acting (8). But in Quebec, only 20 per cent chose business. Success in politics was a stronger draw in Quebec than elsewhere: 34 per cent said that prevent gated politics, compared with nine per cent in all other regions. □

The prospect of shouldering a new layer of taxes seems at a crossroads for many Canadians. The star of the poll, as reported on June 1, 1997, will levy a consumption tax on a wide range of goods and services, from services to legal services, that were previously untaxed. But taxes from all sources already consume about half of the average Canadian's income, more than food, shelter and clothing combined. At the same time, wages have barely kept up with inflation, and consumers are increasingly reducing their spending. Poll results indicate that many Canadians are demanding that the government cut its own spending rather than asking for more taxes from Canadians.

Poll respondent Susan Steepe, 45, of Timmins, Ont., a small mining community north of Sudbury, occasionally works with senior citizens and the homeless. Said Steepe: "People are really pulling in their spending more than they were a few years ago. And yet the government is spending money as though it doesn't agree with me. And in the Third World, when there are a lot of hungry people, there's no better place to go than to a place like ours, my first." For his part, Walter Stoffle, a logger in the northern area of Quesnel Charlotte, B.C., said that more money should be directed towards cleaning up pollution and less to such areas as the military.

The proposed reductions in government spending, announced by Treasury Board president Robert de Courcy, include both high-profile cuts in the expenses of ministers and reductions totaling \$450 million for some government departments. The announcement comes three years into a \$3 billion set of such parliamentary expenses as travel by MPs and parliamentary dining rooms. 48 million removed from the budget of the National Capital Commission for improvements to official residences in Ottawa, the use of private corporations for such government activities as translation and the collection of student loans, and a \$19-million reduction in the budget of the department of national parks, which will include a review of interpretive programs. And Wilson announced some tax increases and a reduction in tax brackets intended to soften the impact of the GRT, including his credits for lower-income Canadians.

Despite the new measures, the government may still have trouble convincing Canadians that its tax changes are economically responsible. Said poll respondent Steepe: "Honestly, I do not have a whole lot of faith in government's management of the economy." That attitude may remain the greatest hurdle in the way of Ottawa's campaign to revenue Canadians that the GRT is fair and necessary.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM



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Getting the message

Concern about AIDS is slowly changing Canadians' sexual habits

Like many of her friends, Theresa VanDuse, a 20-year-old community-college student who lives in Brantford, Ontario, acknowledges having had relations with men. But, responding to the Marloes/Delcourt poll, she expressed a special concern about contracting AIDS. "My friends talk freely about their sex partners," she said, "but in a follow-up interview with Marloes, 'and they don't take any protection against AIDS. They just don't seem to be too concerned about it.' VanDuse said that, because of this, she has changed her sexual behavior by abstaining from oral sex and by carrying condoms. Now, she added, her level of contracting the disease has made her take her current relationship of three months more seriously. Declared VanDuse, "You try harder to make it work. You're not as freewheeling with it."

VanDuse is among the 25 per cent of Canadians polled who said that they were "very concerned" about contracting AIDS. Another 38 per cent said that they were "somewhat concerned." But in comparison to a 1987 poll result, there was no significant change in the level of concern about the deadly virus. At the same time, although the poll showed that the majority of Canadians say they are not changing their sexual habits because of AIDS, an increasing number of people are still showing other behavior as an attempt to protect themselves from contracting the disease. VanDuse, 69 per cent of respondents said that they consider themselves to be sexually active, compared with 59 per cent two years ago.

Concern about AIDS was almost equally split between male and female respondents, but the level of fear varied among respondents of different ages, sexual status and education, and from different parts of the country. Sixty-two per cent of respondents between 18 and 34 said that they were "somewhat" or "very concerned" about being infected with the virus, compared with 43 per cent of those over 65. Concern was significantly lower among those polled who had at least some university education (44 per cent), compared with those



Toronto bar scene showing more focus on casual sex and being picky about partners

who had not completed high school (58 per cent).

Single respondents expressed the greatest level of concern about contracting AIDS. Sixty-one per cent of those who are single, separated or divorced had expressed some level of concern, compared with only 46 per cent of married respondents. Concern also varied among different parts of the country. Sixty-one per cent of those polled in each of Quebec and New Brunswick said that they were concerned about AIDS compared with 43

per cent in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan. As well, those French-speaking respondents (62 per cent) were more concerned than did anglophone respondents (50 per cent).

The reasons for concern also vary. One 61-year-old respondent in Manitoba, a farmer who said that his name must not be published, said that he has no fear that his sexual activities will lead to AIDS, but he says that he is still "very concerned" about the virus. For one thing, he said that he had received a transmission to treat a blood condition, and he added that he is not

always reassured that blood supplies are completely safe. Of course, too, he said, are his three children, aged between 22 and 31. "My kids are growing up," he said, "and I don't know what they will run into." The family has discussed AIDS, and the father said that he feels confident his children are taking precautions. "They are well aware of the consequences," he added.

A significant number of those respondents who expressed concern about contracting AIDS have changed their sexual habits. Of those polled who said that they were very concerned about getting AIDS, 60 per cent claimed to be practicing safer sex by choosing partners more carefully or by seeking out a monogamous relationship. Of those respondents who said that they were "somewhat concerned," 29 per cent said that they have changed their sexual behavior, compared with 11 per cent of those who had no concern at all about contracting AIDS. In general, 36 per cent of respondents said that their sexual behavior had changed, an increase from 15 per cent in 1987 and 18 per cent in 1985. Marloes said.

Overall, however, changes in respondents' sex practices, if any, have been affected by AIDS. Of those between 18 and 24 years old, 48 per cent said that their sexual practices have changed "somewhat" or "a great deal," compared with 22 per cent in the 45-to-44 age group. More changes appear to have taken place among respondents living in urban areas (28 per cent) than among rural respondents (11 per cent). And 54 per cent of single respondents claimed to have altered their behavior, compared with 12 per cent of married respondents. But, in general, the poll results showed that 65 per cent of all respondents never used condoms.

AIDS has changed the sexual habits of respondent Deanne Velociari, for one, a 20-year-old Toronto former who said that he is now more cautious about his relationships with women. He added that he has been having sex with the same woman for four years and that he never uses condoms during sex before AIDS became a threat. But now, despite his shyness of them, he uses condoms most of the time—even though, like 20 per cent of the poll respondents, he said that he believes he is not at risk of contracting the disease.

AIDS has changed Velociari's attitude towards him. "Before, they never bothered me," said Velociari. "But now, when you think about AIDS, you think about it. It always stays on your mind." On the whole, the poll results indicated that, despite the widespread association between homosexuality and AIDS, respondents generally became more rigid in their attitudes towards alternative sexual orientation. When



Photo: David P. Smith

SEX AND AIDS

	1985	1989
Consider self sexually active	73	66
Concerned about getting AIDS	46	53
Concern changed sexual habits	12	26

said whether their feelings towards homosexuals had changed since 1985, the proportion of respondents who had expressed sympathetic attitudes towards homosexuals in general fell to 12 per cent, from 24 per cent last year.

But there was little change among the 30 per cent of respondents who expressed hostility in

1985. Followed by 16 per cent who picked schools. Some 20 per cent named greeting events and public transit as their top choices to places to meet a potential date, but those factors ranked near the bottom of the survey along with dating services, private parties and shopping malls. For these, 20 per cent were twice as likely as men to say that school or work is the best place to meet a companion. And the poll indicates that the higher a person's education level, the more likely they are to use a name at work or school—as opposed to hers or nickname.

Overall, 60 per cent of poll respondents said that they were not involved in a relationship claimed that they made no effort to meet members of the opposite sex.

The exception in the 1989 poll was that the more sexual experience you had, the more you were likely to do so, said Michael Clark, director of the sexology department at Ryerson's University in Toronto. Clark, 40, also added that people are becoming more and more willing rather than assuming that happiness will result from some level of sexual activity. "It's like the needles at Pete and Marty's, and those at hundreds of other bars across Canada, the pursuit of happiness—and companionship—joined at the hip," he said.

PAUL RAJALA

SEX

said that he is "somewhat" personally concerned about contracting the virus. He has not greatly changed his sexual habits. He has been living with the same woman for the past four years and he says that they never use condoms during sex. His son, however, he explained, always uses his parents' condoms and relationships and those of his parents. But, added Montigny, "We have less worries than lots of other people."

To reassure himself, respondent Alexandre Zara had his blood tested for the Aids virus, the previous year at AIDS before he got married 18 months ago. The 24-year-old Waitrose Deli employee says that he never uses a condom but, if he were ever single again, he would "probably use a condom and definitely be more picky" about choosing sexual partners. These days he has never had homosexual or oral sex with them though, and, because of this, his feelings of hostility have grown. "I think they're the ones responsible for ours," said Zara. "It's not nice to see what they do, it's up to them, but why should they spread this around?"

The attitude is familiar to many people who work with Aids support groups. But Paul McLean, executive director of the Metro Area Committee on AIDS (MAC) in Toronto, says "People talk negatively about homosexuals in the first place, the disease didn't help." Toronto's Sue Johnson, who answers questions about sex on radio and cable television programs, says that hostility towards homosexuals is rampant—and twice as strong as a result of AIDS. "There are two situations," said Johnson. "One is, they deserve it. They went against God's will, they're diseased, it's abnormal, and they deserve what they got." The other misconception that many people have, she added, is "it won't happen to me because I'm not gay."

According to Johnson, AIDS is much less of an issue among her clients than it once was. But she has noticed what she calls "a bad dose of afraid." Said Johnson, "After something happens, they check to see if they've got an open sore. Not before. Then they panic." What Johnson also said she is finding is that some people who may have had sex with a gay sexual encounter seek themselves into a state of concern for fear that they will develop the disease. "There's enough education to make them paranoid," she said, "but not protective."

Not surprisingly, the answer to the poll question that related to sexual activity indicated that younger respondents considered themselves to be more sexually active than older respondents. Like last year's poll results slightly more rural residents (58 per cent) said that they were sexually active than those living in urban centres (55 per cent). In all, 38 per cent of rural respondents compared with 36 per cent of city-dwellers, described themselves as less sexually active than what they believe to

be the case with the average Canadian. Of the male respondents, 77 per cent of the total sample claimed to be "somewhat" or "very" sexually active, compared with 56 per cent of females. That gap between men and women was similar to the findings of last year's poll, in which 80 per cent of male respondents said that they were sexually active, compared with



Condom-testing machine: despite fears about disease, few Canadians use condoms

only 61 per cent of women polled. Other groups with a high proportion of respondents who claimed to be sexually active included those living in a common-law relationship (59 per cent) and those with an annual household income of \$40,000 to \$60,000 (58 per cent).

Only 44 per cent of those aged between 15 and 24 years old said they had sex last year. But they had one partner during the past year, compared with 83 per cent of respondents 30 to 34 years old and 75 per cent between the ages of 25 and 29. Another 23 per cent of the 18-to-24 group claimed to have had two to three partners. Eleven per cent said they had had sex with four or more people.

Recently, Quebec respondents, 54 per cent of whom described themselves to be "somewhat" sexually active, headed the list of those with multiple partners. Only seven per cent of Quebecers polled said that they had been celibate during the

(27 per cent), those with no children (26 per cent) and men (24 per cent, compared with women at 16 per cent).

Still, the poll results clearly indicate that, although concern about AIDS has changed hardly at all in five years, the message about taking precautions and changing sexual attitudes is starting to sink in—a trend that members of Aids support groups have noted. Sue Johnson's McLean: "People seem more and more receptive for advice and education coming from the homosexual—and that's really encouraging." The macabreous sexual aids are starting to diminish—and, says Johnson, has a number of poll respondents, are beginning to realize that change is necessary to help prevent the virus from taking an even greater toll.

NORA UNDERWOOD with
SHARON DOYLE DRAZDICK
in Toronto

Johnson's take on AIDS



"I didn't think you were such a pushover."

"What do you mean?"

"Going along with the crowd. Getting talked into that last drink. Or did you forget you were driving?"

"I wasn't going to finish it."

"So why take it?"

"Good question. Why did I?"

"To impress the others."

"Maybe. And to impress you, I guess."

"Thanks, but no thanks. I like you better when you're your own man."

"It was dumb of me. Do I get another chance?"

"Okay, but hurry up and grow up, will you? I'm getting too old to be dating a kid!"

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NEIGHBORS

A border of mirrors

Canadian attitudes to America are a study in sharp contrasts

Canadians generally say they enjoy better health care, a higher quality of life and greater world respect than Americans. But given the chance, roughly one in six Canadians would choose to live in the United States in a province in which they lie could obtain treatment and the right to elect members of Congress. The apparent contradiction among Canadians who took part in the 1989 Macmillan-Decima poll stems from a traditional view that Canadians tried to look upon the United States with a mixture of suspicion and envy. But behind that ambivalent stereotype the 1989 year-end survey of the national mood showed that the 1,500 Canadians who took part held attitudes towards the United States that contrast sharply between those in the East and the West, and between francophones and anglophones, rich and poor.

As well as testing attitudes towards joining the United States, the poll asked respondents to select which of five grades, ranging from "significantly worse" to "significantly better," most accurately described the Canadian economy, levels of taxation, health care policies, international respect and quality of life compared with those features of living in the United States. Trudeau was the only category in which a majority of 58 per cent of respondents said that Canadians were worse off than Americans (21 per cent said "better off," the rest no difference). But 48 per cent apparently acknowledged some benefits from the taxes they pay, rating Canadian health care better than that available in the United States.

Although the overwhelming majority of poll respondents accepted the notion of joining the United States, the fact that nearly 40 per cent had the proportion conformed with the view of some government critics that Canada's sense of nationhood has diminished in recent years. Prof. Donald Mowat, for one, "Every year it's like the federal government has taken a few steps away from the Canadian people." Prof. Edmund Morris, for one, "Every year it's like the federal government has taken a few steps away from the Canadian people." With such things as the Free Trade Agreement, Congress winds up with more power over our lives in some cases than Parliament has. Some Canadians are probably saying that if they are going to be governed from Washington, they might as well have some say in what happens."

The poll was conducted near the close of a year in which, apart from the inauguration of the Free Trade Agreement, other relations were strengthened. Prime Minister Brian Mul-

러시아 and President George Bush held several meetings, including a relaxed family get-together in August at Bush's summer place in Kennebunkport, Me. As well, trusted emissaries of these two leaders took charge of diplomatic relations—Dwight Dickey, formerly

poll questions on Canada-U.S. relations. Dennis Charlebois Alan Gregg said that they showed deep divisions among regions, between men and women, by religious affiliation and between francophones and anglophones, rich and poor.



Bush and Mulroney: most polled exhibited a mixture of envy and superiority

the Prime Minister's chief of staff, as Canada's ambassador to Washington, and Edward Ney, the New York City advertising executive who played a key role in Bush's election campaign, as the U.S. envoy in Ottawa.

After breaking down the overall results of

statistical analysis as many as one in four Quebecers and one in five poll respondents in the Atlantic provinces favored the notion of joining the United States.

As well, the national findings indicate that women tend to be greater patriots than men—

NEIGHBORS

only 12 per cent of female respondents favoured leaving the rest of the Canadian States compared with 20 per cent of the males. Even more striking, 27 per cent of the participants named first language. Those immigrants whose first language was then named the predominant percentage (12) of those whose first language is English. Rural residents were more likely than city-dwellers—29 per cent compared with 15—to favour becoming a state.

In each of nine income categories from below \$10,000 a year to \$45,000 and over, the responses to statehood varied only marginally from the overall figure of 26 per cent, except for those at the \$15,000-\$17,000 bracket, more than one-quarter of whom favored joining the United States. When categorized by age, the least enthusiastic about union, at 16 per cent, were people between 45 and 49. Those most in favor, at 21 and 20 per cent respectively, were 25-to-29-year-olds and those between 50 and 54. Generally, support for joining the United States was greater among single children (aged under 18) than those with dependents.

However, factors appeared to have had a major influence on responses. Forty-one per cent of those who expressed a preference for secession said that the Canadian economy was worse off than the U.S. one, and only 29 per cent said that it was better. The prevailing perception that U.S. tax levels are preferable

to those in Canada also was echoed as responses to the national issue. Fifty-five per cent of the provincial respondents said that Canadians' quality of life was worse than those in the United States, and only 38 per cent said that they were better.

There was sharply divided opinion on whether the Canadian economy is performing

highest support in southeastern Ontario (49 per cent) and the lowest in Quebec (11 per cent). Ontario was the Canadian economy's strongest divider according to the gender of poll respondents, 49 per cent of women rating it better than the U.S. economy while about the same proportion of men—38 per cent—rated the Canadian economy worse.

Overall, 66 per cent of the poll respondents said that "the quality of life" in Canada is either equivalent or significantly better than in the United States, and 26 per cent rated it as the same. British Columbia and Ontario were the biggest supporters of the Canadian lifestyle. 71 per cent of the respondents in each province said that Canada's quality of life is superior. Quebecers were the least inclined to rate the Canadian lifestyle as superior, with 56 per cent expressing that opinion and 37 per cent saying that the quality of life is the same on both sides of the border.

These findings, in with others from the poll, cast a new light on Canadian attitudes towards the United States a year after the national debate over the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement during the 1988 federal election campaign. The poll results also represent a sharp division of opinion within Canada, which clearly bear on the prospects for national reconciliation.

RAE CORLETT



Burnett (left) and Neje: deep divisions among regions and the sexes

JOINING THE U.S.A.

Inclined to script if their provinces were given the chance to become a U.S. state.

ALL OF CANADA	16
QUEBEC	25
NEWFOUNDLAND	27
NEW BRUNSWICK	21
REST OF CANADA	13

NEIGHBORS

Comparing Canada with the United States

	CANADA BETTER	CANADA WORSE	SAHM AS U.S.A.
HEALTH CARE	89	4	7
QUALITY OF LIFE	66	7	26
WORLD RESPECT	63	13	23
ECONOMY	36	32	30
POLITICIANS	22	13	52



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Faces from far shores

Immigrants are testing Canada's self-image of racial tolerance

Throughout Canadian history, immigration has been a source of change—and of conflict. And for Employment and Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall and contemporary Canadians, the issue remains contentious. Pitting the current debate is the fact that the pattern of immigration to Canada has changed dramatically. In 1957, 99 per cent of the 392,164 immigrants were Europeans or Americans. But by the 1952, 200,000 immigrants to Canada 30 years later, the percentage of Europeans and Americans had dropped to 36 per cent. The percentage in 1987 came mostly from the Third World, a shift that is changing Canada society—and severely testing the country's self-image of racial tolerance. In fact, at the root of the new social movement of *Bienvenue* (well come), Canadians have yet to stop to focus with the influx of visible minorities—expressing their support for the concept of multiculturalism, but also showing a continued hostility toward ethnic distinctiveness.

Despite that situation, the majority of respondents—83 per cent—said that increased immigration from the Third World was “just a fact of life,” as opposed to 27 per cent who called it a “bad thing” and the 16 per cent who said that it was good. Yet, when asked to assess the benefits of Canada’s diverse multicultural makeup, only 30 per cent of respondents expressed agreement with the poll statement: “We would be better off if we were all even the same”—compared with 68 per cent who chose the response that being “made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds makes Canada a more interesting and even better country.” But when asked if new immigrants should be encouraged to maintain their distinct cultures and ways, 87 per cent of respondents said that new immigrants should “blend with the larger society,” compared with only 48 per cent who said that new arrivals should maintain those ethnic identities.

That result is much the same as in the findings of a special *Maclean’s* poll that was done last summer in which 42 per cent of respondents said that immigrants should choose their culture. And other recent polls have shown that Canadians, although prepared to support and often praise Canada’s multicultural diversity, are less likely to tolerate the underlying essence of multiculturalism—that ethnic groups be encouraged to retain their respective identities. “We are revelling in our multicultural identity,” said Aliza Grigg, chairwoman



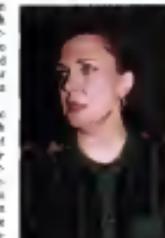
Immigration working harder coming to terms with an influx of visible minorities

of Decima Research Ltd. “But Canadians demand, in the end, stability. And anything that threatens to upset that stability, they snub.”

In fact, intolerance of cultural difference proved higher than average at provinces where intercultural-related issues are prominent. In British Columbia, which in recent years has attracted large numbers of Asian immigrants, 82 per cent of respondents said that new arrivals should adapt to the larger culture. That figure was matched in Alberta, where the backlash to Acerai Commissioner Solomon Izenkoff’s proposal to change the RCMP uniforms and allow Sikh officers to wear their distinctive turbans has been especially violent.

Autoparts towards ethnic distinctiveness was as high as Quebec, where 58 per cent of respondents said that immigrants should be encouraged to assimilate. In Quebec, increased immigration has become a vital concern for the government because of the rapidly declining pop-

McDougall: *Scare of life*



PETER KROPPEN



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Politics and dollars

Most Canadians oppose paying to support the new Eastern Europe

The changes, both rapid and revolutionary, shook the clause of countries long known as the Soviet Bloc—and the rest of the world as well. Over the last half of 1989, one Communist government after the other, battered by massive popular protest and the liberating drive of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, cast aside old-line leaders and replaced them with reformers. Some of the new guard were not even Communists, often coming from the non-Marxist wings of Communist parties. And several reached out to the West for economic convenience and help in introducing free-market policies. But Canadians responding to the Moscow/Warsaw poll voiced profound doubts about whether Ottawa should in fact provide that aid—if it meant paying higher taxes at home.

The telephone poll was conducted between Nov. 3 and Nov. 8, just before the East Germans opened the Berlin Wall to direct emigration to the West—the most dramatic moment in the Eastern upheaval—and shortly before Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa made an investment-seeking visit to Canada. Asked which of two points their home town reflects their own, 68 per cent of those polled said that what happens in Eastern Europe is none of Canada's business and it would be a waste of taxpayers' money to offer major economic aid. Only 31 per cent said that Canada should offer large-scale financial assistance to Eastern Europe to encourage reform and economic stability even if that meant higher Canadian taxes. Regarding British Columbians polled were the least inclined



FREDERIC BROWN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Berlin Wall collapses: a rare view of the changes—but not of the aid costs

closed to provide aid, with 75 per cent of them opposed to the idea. By and large, support for economic aid increased with the level of education of the respondents. As it happened, officials in Ottawa obviously believe that Eastern Europe is worth helping; the government has pledged \$73 million in aid to Hungary and Poland.

But respondents to the poll did view developments in Eastern Europe in a positive light. Forty-four per cent said that the changes made were somewhat less likely, and 59 per cent said

that the developments made war much less likely. Residents of Ontario and British Columbia were particularly emphatic in their positive assessment. Nationally, only 25 per cent of respondents said that the changing situation in Eastern Europe made war more likely. In general, most Canadians clearly took a rosy view of the changes sweeping Eastern Europe—assuming they did not have to pay for it.

BOB LEVINE

most observers, said, "The traditional opposition for not joining was that we would either have to oppose Washington on particular issues or alienate the rest of hemisphere." Thus, after a year's review, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney indicated at an August meeting with U.S. President George Bush that Canada was ready to join the U.S.

Mulroney formally announced his decision at a meeting of hemispheric leaders in San José, Costa Rica, on Oct. 21. In Washington three weeks later, the us unusually endorsed Canadian membership, to begin on Jan. 1. Five days after Mulroney's announcement in Costa Rica, the Mackay & Decker poll began surveying opinions on whether OAS membership "will enhance Canada's independent voice

in the Western Hemisphere, or will it enhance Canada's standing and influence?"

Opponents were divided. Forty per cent of the poll respondents said that OAS membership would enhance Canada's influence, 35 per cent that Canada will sacrifice some independence. More Canadians were represented in Quebec, where 45 per cent of respondents said that our membership will enhance Canada's status. Ontarians were more inclined to favour an erosion of independence, with 40 per cent expressing that view. Overall, results indicated widespread skepticism. One in four of the Canadians polled and others that they had no opinion on the question or that belonging to the OAS will make no difference at all to Canada. C.J.



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Support for women's rights

Members of Parliament confront a dilemma

It was a moving personal drama played out before a court room. For four weeks last summer, 28-year-old Chantal Daigle waged a protracted legal battle against her former lover, Jean-Guy Tremblay, 25, over her right to have an abortion. Lawyers representing Tremblay convinced a series of Quebec courts to ban the abortion. Finally, on Aug. 8, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of Daigle, although she had already received an abortion in a Montreal clinic after 22 weeks of pregnancy. The Daigle-Tremblay case, along with a parallel Toronto drama in which 29-year-old Barbara Duford won a similar court case, revived the simmering debate over access to abortion in Canada. Those legal battles also appear to have had a dramatic impact on public opinion. Slightly over 60 per cent of the respondents to the Maclean's/Decima poll said that, in an abortion decision, a woman's rights must prevail, while only four per cent supported the prospective father and 22 per cent said that fetal rights should be paramount.

In response to other questions related to the abortion issue, only a small minority—11 per cent of respondents—said that abortion should be banned outright. Thirty-two per cent would permit abortion on demand—the situation that has prevailed in a Supreme Court of Canada judgment of the beginning of 1988 which struck down the law prohibiting abortion. The majority of those polled, 55 per cent, and those surveyed said that abortion should be allowed "under certain circumstances." On the issue of having two doctors who said that abortions should be available to women, are divided almost evenly between

those who say that abortion should be allowed anytime during a pregnancy (43 per cent) and those who would permit abortion only in the first three months (56 per cent). The rest opted for time limits of 10 to 14 weeks or stated no opinion.

Parties in the poll also were almost equally split over the need for a new abortion law. The same deep rifts within Canadian society, particularly between those who favor abortion as a legal choice and those who oppose it under all or most circumstances. Organizations and individuals supporting the right to abortion say that polls have consistently shown that a vast majority of Canadians favor their position. Robie Ross, national co-ordinator of the decentralized Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL), said that the Maclean's/Decima poll showing 87 per cent of Canadians in favour of abortion to some degree proved that a majority consensus exists. Added Ross: "We have always recruited a vast majority of people who believe that abortion should be a private matter between a woman and her doctor."

On the other hand, opponents of abortion claim that public opinion surveys, including the Maclean's/Decima poll, show that most Canadians do not want decisions about abortion left entirely with a woman and her doctor. Laura McArthur, for one, president of the Toronto-based Right-to-Life Association, said that a huge majority of Canadians remain adamantly opposed to abortion on demand. She added that the Maclean's/Decima results showing 55 per cent of participants favoring abortion on demand does not necessarily reflect grassroots sentiment across Canada. Deirdre McArthur, whose group opposes abortion: "There has been a tremendous surge in pro-life support in Canada in recent years. There certainly is a strong resistance to abortion."

For those attempting to draft an abortion law, the issue is further complicated by diverse regional views. The Maclean's/Decima poll showed that participants from the three Prairie provinces were the most strongly opposed to abortion on demand, while participants from British Columbia, Quebec and Metro Toronto were the most supportive. Indeed, 43 per cent of those questioned in Metro Toronto supported abortion on demand, compared with only 19 per



Daigle: a Supreme Court of Canada ruling favoring women



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Other factors that affect attitudes to abortion, according to the poll, are education and religion.

The poll assumes that the lower-income Canadians, those with household incomes of less than \$16,000 a year, are the most likely to support abortion on demand.

But those in household income brackets higher than \$25,000 a year are also substantially in support of abortion, at least in some circumstances. The highest level of outright opposition to abortion is among poll respondents in the \$70,000-to-\$85,000 household income range. People living in a common-law relationship are most likely to support abortion on demand or in certain circumstances, while married people are marginally more likely to oppose abortion outright than are single people or those in common-law relationships.

Views on abortion differed among members of different religious groups and among those with no church affiliation. First of the respondents who declared themselves to be atheists or agnostics or to have no religious affiliation



Dad with boyfriend Gregory Murphy: divisive issue

said that they believed in abortion on demand. Those respondents, along with affiliates of the Anglicans and the United churches, are less likely to oppose abortion outright than were those attached to other Protestant denom-

iations or the Roman Catholic Church.

These shades of opinion reflect the official stand on abortion taken by some of the religious bodies. The Canadian Association of Christians, a conservative Christian denomination that comprises 1,058 congregations with over 180,000 members, responded to the government's proposed Bill C-43 with a statement calling for "explicit prohibition of abortions for social, economic and stress-related factors."

On the other hand, the United Church of Canada, the country's largest Protestant denomination with almost 450,000 members, officially opposes abortion on demand, but in a C-43 statement, reaffirmed its support of a woman's "responsible choice" to terminate a pregnancy if she chooses to do so. The church also stressed its opposition to putting abortion back into the Criminal Code. Linda Evans, a United Church minister and spokeswoman for the British Columbia Coalition for Abortion Choice, and that a law on abortion would be "a back-handed slap at women, a way of saying women are not capable of making responsible decisions."

In late January, a legislative committee made up of 15 men and 15 women will begin examining Bill C-43. By mid-March, elections to the Canadian House of Commons will be shown on a criminal basis by up to two years in pregnancies performed by a qualified medical practitioner who had determined that a woman's physical, mental or psychological health was in jeopardy.

Activists on both sides of the debate have attacked the bill and launched extensive lobbying campaigns to defeat it. Margaret Parrott, the national vice-president for Campaign Life Coalition, which opposes abortion, said that the previous permitting legal abortions are so broad that the government is condoning abortion-as-demand. Sad Parrott. "This legislation is absolute hypocrisy. We don't want the bill amended. We want it defeated."

Activists who favor abortion as a choice also oppose the bill. CARSA's Rivers said that the government is doing nothing to make abortion more universally available. She added that the fear of criminal prosecution will discourage many doctors from performing the procedure. Added Rivers, "It will have a chilling effect on the availability of abortion, especially in small communities."

In the House of Commons, there are currently only two pro-abortion bills lined up on C-43. The 43 New Democrats have said that they will vote against any bill that criminalizes abortion, while the 34-senators they collect under instructions from Mulroney to support C-43. For activists on both sides of the debate, the challenge now is to find enough votes among the remaining senators during the Bill. But regardless of the outcome of the battle in Parliament Hill, abortion will likely remain a sensitive and divisive issue throughout the nation for many years to come.

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THE ABORTION DEBATE

Should abortions be allowed on demand, in certain circumstances or not at all? Should there be a new abortion law or not?

	ON DEMAND	CERTAIN CASES	NOT AT ALL	NEED LAW	NO LAW
TOTAL POLL	32	55	11	51	47
FEMALES POLLED	30	56	13	45	53
MALES POLLED	35	54	10	57	41
ROMAN CATHOLICS	29	56	14	56	43
ANGLICAN/UNITED	35	59	4	38	60
OTHER PROTESTANT	24	55	19	59	39
NO RELIGION	50	45	3	48	50
ATLANTIC REGION	28	58	12	53	46
QUEBEC	37	49	14	56	43
ONTARIO	32	57	10	49	49
PRAIRIES	25	59	13	54	40
BRITISH COLUMBIA	39	54	6	38	62

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CANADA

Keeping the dream alive

The navy still wants nuclear submarines

For two years, Canada's naval officers shared a dream of restoring the service's lost greatness. Their hopes dimmed when Defense Minister Pierre Bourque planed to purchase an 18-billion fleet of nuclear-powered submarines from Britain or France. But in the face of a public outcry over the cost of the submarines and concern about the safety of nuclear-powered vessels, the defence-conversion government cancelled that plan last April. Now, Merleau has learned that top-level naval officers and officials in the department of national defence (DND) have proposed a new submarine program—one that keeps alive the dream of a nuclear navy. In the short term, they are working quietly to enhance the navy's nuclear expertise. Then again and purchasing six diesel-powered submarines from France, this later covering that to nuclear power.

DND officials have reinforced parts of the plan, though they deny that their options are still set firmly on nuclear power. But Merleau has received a copy of a letter sent last August by Edward Healey, the minister of defence, to the French defense minister, to Yves Sire, the Paris defense general of armaments. The letter largely confirms that the navy intends to keep the nuclear option open. As well, Merleau conducted interviews with nuclear engineers, naval officers, political staff and defense ministry officials, lobbyists and consultants. Those familiar with the plan would be quoted by name because, they say, that might jeopardize their careers. But they confirmed that the navy remains hopeful of becoming a nuclear power. Said one defense industry executive: "They are determined to go ahead—and they will have to do one."

In an interview last month with Merleau, Healey said that the navy's relations with the French on nuclear matters had been "strained" since the government ended the nuclear submarine program on April 28. But his letter to Sire last August indicates otherwise. For one thing, Healey wrote that Vice-Admiral Charles Thomas, vice-chief of defense staff, and Vice-Admiral Robert George, the commander of Maritime Command in Halifax, are certainly interested in expanded cooperation between our two navies and especially the training of officers and men in France in the field of nuclear engineering and propulsion. "Last week," Healey confirmed, that senior French and Canadian officials met in Ottawa in

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CANADA

September to discuss nuclear training of Canadian sailors in France. But he told MacLean's that the discussions "were just at hand, pending a decision to go ahead with a submarine."

Hedley argues that the army's preferred choice is closer a diesel-powered version of France's Aréthuse nuclear submarine, which had been competing with Britain's Tripartite submarine for the Canadian submarine contract. In his letter, Hedley said that the Aréthuse would provide a basis for the "extremely promising" of Canada's submarine program. The key part of that development is extending the range of the diesel-powered submarine, which must surface frequently to recharge its engine batteries. If the submarine program got the go-ahead, Hedley wrote, DND would "identify the most efficient means of self-dependent propulsion ... for incorporation within the program at some future date." But, although Hedley told MacLean's that other navies were experimenting with "re-interpreted" alternatives to nuclear power, he acknowledged that none of these alternatives would satisfy the operational demands of the Canadian navy. Noted one admiralty source describing the senior naval officers and officials, "They are set on nuclear."

Indeed, Hedley acknowledge that DND is not funding any study of alternatives to nuclear propulsion. But it has given a contract of about \$100,000 to Technosuisse, the French government-owned agency that builds nuclear power plants for the French navy. Technosuisse is to study the possibility of adapting a pressurized-water reactor—the same type that powers French nuclear submarines—to generate power and heat at room temperature. Hedley says that several experts told MacLean's that calculations show the US navy had tried and failed to adapt pressurized-water systems for similar uses. Declared one nuclear engineer who has worked with DND: "The evolved is nuclear. They are just at a holding rank to buy the French technology."

Meanwhile, there are other indications that DND is struggling to maintain and enhance its nuclear knowledge. For one thing, the office of director general of nuclear safety, set up specifically in part of the nuclear submarine program and reporting directly to Vice-Admiral Thomas, has been maintained—at a cost of two budget cuts. But many experts express doubt that the Canadian navy will ever acquire nuclear submarines. As well, with tensions between the West and the Soviet Bloc decreasing, pressures are growing for scrapping old ones. But Hedley said that presently negative attitudes toward nuclear power are slowly changing. He added, "The greenhouse effect, the ozone layer, the burning of fossil fuels, is creating many problems, and it is beginning to force people back to these alternative sources." Declared Hedley: "We don't think it's appropriate for us to keep an eye on things" but the navy, if it appears, hopes not only to keep an eye on nuclear submarines—but eventually to buy its hands on the real thing.

MARC CLARK in Ottawa

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American troops in Phanom City and (right) U.S. gunship in action; objectives more easily seized than accomplished.



"either invent or close."

For Bush, that action was the conclusion of what he had earlier intimated: "We've recovered" of his first year in the White House. The President's words reflected his assessment himself as "recovered," having been widely criticized for failure to take action against Nicaragua after the dictator had ousted the Sandinistas. He had also delayed the results of the May, 1988 elections. Veritas and political critics had again

World Notes

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Fernando Coloma de Madrid, a 40-year-old right-of-center politician, emerged victorious from Brazil's first direct presidential election in 1989. (Colombia's Luis Ernesto Iñaki (Lula) da Silva, a leftist former trade union leader, taking office on March 15, 1990.) Coloma will have to deal with glaring economic inequities and annual inflation of 1,300 per cent.

PHILIPPINE PLOTTERS

The Philippine congress passed legislation giving President Corazon Aquino emergency powers for six months to combat possible coup attempts. Aquino ordered the immediate trial of leaders of an uprising from Dec. 1 to 3. But most political assassins at large, and one, Capt. Gregorio Honasan, known as "Meng," was slain in a TV interview that Aquino was "hosted"—politically, historically, morally and maybe physically.

第10章 面向对象设计

Eastern civil rights groups and federal court-appointed security share two fatal mistakes, believed to be the work of extreme white racists. Federal Judge Robert Vance, a white liberal, was killed by an exploding package of hate mail near Birmingham, Ala., and Black lawyer Robert Robinson died after a similar incident in Savannah, Ga. Two anti-bombing patrols were discontinued after being sent into Atlanta Appeals Court and the offices of a civil rights group in Jacksonville, Fla.

LITHUANIAN SPATI

In the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania, a special Commissar congress was overwhelmingly to set up a party more dependent from Moscow, the left and right split in the ruling Soviet party over the 1917 resolution. The move was designed to try to stop a political shift away from the Communists towards the reform movement, which had led a high-profile campaign to defend Lithuanian interests.

APPENDIX

In a possible breakthrough, doctors at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine in Baltimore reported that they had eliminated the AIDS virus from a patient's body, although he later died of cancer. Researchers said that they had eradicated the virus by giving the 43-year-old man a bone-marrow transplant as well as the drug AZT, or zidovudine. Some doctors cautioned that the technique's overall effectiveness has still not been

WORLD

THE PANAMA WAR

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH FACED HIS FIRST TEST UNDER FIRE AS U.S. TROOPS TOPPLED NORIEGA'S REGIME

These declared objective: to protect American lives, restore democracy to Panama, seize U.S. treaty rights in the Panama Canal—and capture Managua, who is under indictment at Florida to charges of drug trafficking.

about their associations. Several U.S. physi-

found themselves in greater danger than before the invasion when Norge's loyalists took their hostage. At the same time, the winners of last May's short-lived elections, sworn in as a US base 45 minutes before the Americans launched the attack, had to be kept under cover for their own safety. Meanwhile, the canal was closed for the first time in its 75-year history, although it was later reopened. And the press

objective, the stocky, acne-scarred Norwegians was—for the first 40 hours at least—nowhere to be found. That fueled speculation that he could, if not captured, take to the jungle to fight a prolonged guerrilla war at the head of loyal forces in his 16,000-strong *Fuscaas* (Free Norwegian) Army. The White House offered a \$1-million reward for information leading to his capture. And as U.S. chief of staffers Jim Buchwald conceded, until Norweg was captured or killed there would be "a great deal of fear and confusion among *Persianians*."

the quick, clean surgical operation at the White House and Pepego had survived. Still, there was no doubt that it was extremely popular among US coaches who intended to expose cells with reactions reminiscent of the hostility generated by Fred's son-in-law, Bahadur Khanum, who died last



Students more than 8 to 10

— perhaps even in Puerto Rico. Some suggested that he might have taken refuge in the embassy of Nicaragua, whose Sandinista government is friendly to Nicaragua. Asked how long the heat would go on, Ben responded quietly, "As long as it takes."

Rude *Sacucou* remained in the hands of African Negro slaves throughout Webberville, however, casting appeals to the people of Panama to "be alert, be alert, the savagery is in the streets, and your life is for poor country." The slaves remained in the city until a U.S. Indemnity

ship, hovering in front of the building, fired several rockets into it, sending up clouds of black smoke. Some radio station owners who learned of the official radio station was not among the first to sign off said they were surprised that the Chiriquí had selected what was obviously off. Experts also argued why the Americans had not selected such locations as Panama City's Lawrence Marine Yard, where a number of American ships were based as hostages by pro-Nicaragua elements.

Although there was no immediate confirmation of numbers, the Noriega loyalists claimed to be holding more than 60 American hostages. Two of them, Mary Robson, 34, and Tae King, 25, were only released when U.S. soldiers killed their captors and believed that Noriega was dead. After being freed, the two women said that they had been held in a locked room at the Omar Torrijos International Airport when American troops moved in. There was a six-hour stand-off as the women's captors threatened to kill them. "They had us in choke-holds for most of the time," said Robson. Asked King: "They made us crawl down and held guns to my head and Mary's back. We were terrified. I thought I was going to die."

Another hostage who escaped with a harrowing account of hours of torture was Eddie Grace, a correspondent for The New York Times. Grace was one of 12 persons, mostly Americans, who were held in the office of the Mayor at the early hours of Wednesday morning. One of those held, he said, was notorious paramilitary chief at his head and cracked his fingers in imitation of the sound of a trigger. Then, he was struck the hamstrings by gun-barrel slugs from nose and ear. "It's all of Panamanian have died, we can tell you. Don't think we won't." After several hours, the gauntas let the hostages go, apparently in response to a telephone coded message from some higher Panamanian authority. "We are going to set you free because we don't want to be criminals," said the captors.

Throughout Wednesday and Thursday, virtually all members of Noriega's self-styled "Dignity Battalions" continued to try to stop the U.S. invasion forces—even though most army units appeared to have surrendered. American officials said that they believed there were 18 such paramilitary units, mostly drawn from working-class districts and each numbering between 40 and several hundred members. The battalions, armed with automatic weapons, were secretly active, according to Panamanian City, setting up checkpoints, kidnapping cars and taking hostages. And, finally at last, the U.S. troops seemed to be forced into action to stop them. As official in Washington explained that American forces would not engage in "urban guerilla warfare," but would "just wait out our own" U.S. troops also made no attempt to interfere with looters; many from the Dignity Battalions, who on Thursday stripped stores in various parts of the city. One shopkeeper, "In one day, the Americans have done more harm than Noriega in all his years."

On Wednesday, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis flew back to Panama after a seven-month absence that followed the recall of May elections. In his American reporter he was convinced that the Noriega loyalists were continuing to strengthen their grip. Chiriquí had selected what was obviously off. Experts also argued why the Americans had not selected such locations as Panama City's Lawrence Marine Yard, where a number of American ships were based as hostages by pro-Nicaragua elements.

Indeed, Noriega's puppet president, Francisco Rodriguez, met local and foreign reporters at the heavily guarded foreign ministry—and claimed that his government was still in control of the country. Flanked by guards bearing M-16s and M-47 rifles, Rodriguez touted the



Bush's "action after reaching the conclusion that every other avenue was closed"

site facts: "There will be revenge." He noted a highly guarded arms bazaar it was held at a U.S. military base, where Bush remained for security reasons instead of returning to his residence, which had earlier been hit by several mortar rounds fired by the PNP.

There were other signs of the U.S. forces' apparent triumph in establishing control. A full 12 hours after the U.S. operation was

three opposition leaders sworn in by the Americans that morning—Guillermo Endara as president and Guillermo (Bilq) Ford and Ricardo Arias Calderón as vice-presidents. Rodriguez claimed that the three did not comprise a legitimate government and that they had gone into exile. Later, a U.S. official admitted that it was not yet safe for Endara, Ford and Calderón to appear in public. But Paul,



in his initial television address, had maintained: "Today, constitutionally elected leaders govern."

In the first day of fighting, dozens of Panamanians, many of them civilians, were killed. Six were at least 18 American soldiers. More than 150 U.S. were wounded, one was reported missing, and a female civilian dependent was also killed. The Pentagon confirmed that U.S. helicopters had been shot down by PNP rocket fire. The heaviest fighting appeared to have taken place around Noriega's hideaway in the run-down Chorrillo district of Panama City. The Americans pound it with artillery fire, leveling a column of black market several thousand feet east of the city. Many civilian houses in the vicinity were destroyed.

"This is horrific," said one woman who had seen the area with her son. "Never in the history of our country has this been done."

Many reports reported heavy fighting 36 hours after the start of the operation. A news photographer said he saw American soldiers near the Morrocoy Hotel "shouting at anything that moved." U.S. television correspondents reported heavy shelling at a military barracks in San Miguelito, a slum district of Panama City, while Cuba's Pressa Latina news agency said that U.S. planes were bombing targets on the outskirts of the capital.

In the United States, congressional reaction to the invasion was largely positive. "I support the President's actions," and the Democrats' Senate majority leader, George Mitchell, a frequent critic of Bush. "It was made nec-

essary by the reckless actions of Gen. Noriega." And Democratic Representative Leo Aspin, chairman of the House select services committee, said, "My administration is at last." But, while supporting Bush, the normally hawkish Democratic Senator Sam Nunn of

Robert Kora, a scholar at the Brookings Institution, a neopagan Washington think-tank. When they made the decision to invade, "we were sure legal advice in the case said, 'Well, we can justify it some way.' But the reasons offered are a fairly thin reed."

U.S. legal and congressional experts and their, while the United States and the Organization of American States (OAS) observers allow countries to defend their citizens, they do not permit one country to overthrow the government of another. The United States could simply have evacuated its citizens from Panama or protected them in the U.S. bases along the canal, they noted. Said David Scheffer, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "To argue that the invasion is self-defense is like saying that the country too big for Bob Dylan's guitar. What House rule says, 'Murica is

"We could not let Noriega continue to attack our people and still have credibility in the world. The guy is sick."

Abroad the reaction was distinctly mixed. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was quick to express support, saying, "This is what friends see fit." By contrast, the Soviet Union condemned the U.S. action as "guaranteed diplomacy" and a violation of the charter and the universally accepted norms of interstate relations." However, most observers considered that to be a rare denunciation that would not seriously affect the generally positive trend of Soviet-U.S.-U.N. consensus by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yevgeny

LIFESTYLE OF A DICTATOR

Manuel Antonio Noriega was born in the village of Puerto Chico, a town so remote that even the local postman, who never knew his name, had to lay-based molasses, was to be president of Panama. He did even better, became dictator, choosing and firing presidents himself, and consolidating his power until right-hand men of torture, assassination and sexual deviancy.

From his rise to power in the early 1980s—following the death of Panamanian strongman Omar Torrijos in a mysterious plane crash—until U.S. forces deposed him last week, Noriega, 55, acquired a personal fortune that may have reached \$1 billion. He has also had several mistresses, one of whom was reportedly strangled by his jealous wife, Priscilla, that she need plastic surgery in Europe. Noriega soon sought physical adjustment himself, reme-

tic about facial bone issues, which prompted Panamanians to refer to him as "coria (coria) face." In retirement, he suffered from stroke in 1986 to paralyze his left side, and, as usual, had a low-profile forbidding whenever he appeared in public.

Moriega's career went from various

U.S. officials said that, in the early 1990s, the CIA was paying him \$150,000 a year for information about Cuban and Panamanian politics, while Colombia's Medellín cartel was giving him millions of dollars a year to bring drug shipments to North America. U.S. justice department officials charge that he also profited the laundering of drug profits through Panamanian banks. Although his official salary was \$45,000 a year, Noriega bought buildings in Panama and a chateau in France, and is reported to have invested in hotels, video stores, duty-free liquor stores and casinos.

U.S. intelligence authorities say that Noriega was responsible for the 1985 murder of political opponent Hugo Spadafora, a physician who had loudly accused him of drug trafficking.

RAY CORDELL with comprehensive report



Noriega in October: a bogeyman figure to most of the U.S. public

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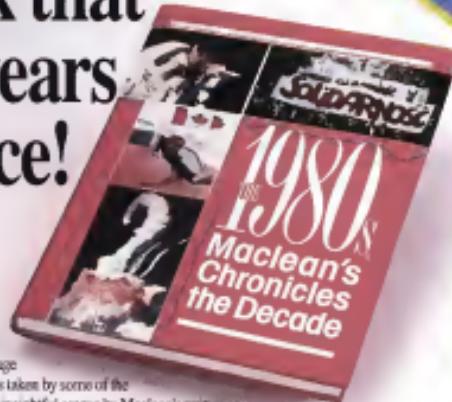


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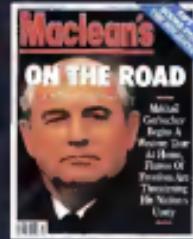


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WORLD

Philips appeared to have set out that assessment. The Kremlin's criticism, he told reporters, was raised "in the spirit of frankness that exists between our countries." Another senior Soviet official commented in obvious surprise that the U.S. action would pose serious new problems for President Mikail Gorbatchev as he struggled against Soviet hard-liners who accused him of wavering in the Americas. "How could the Americans have done that?" said the official. "It plays into the hands of everyone who wants to see our two countries become enemies."

President Luis Alvarado's two Mexican relatives, Cuba and Nicaragua, roundly condemned the U.S. action. The criticism from other Latin American nations was only slightly less harsh—the Venezuelan government statement said that the U.S. military strike "should be condemned and rejected." Venezuela, over a long history of U.S. intervention in the region, clearly lay behind much of the critical hemispheric reaction.

In Ottawa, the Canadian government, while expressing regret at the *ca s loisse*, and that the Americans had no other option after oligarchy had failed to dialogue when Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called Nelligan's "savage" regime, that sparked some heated exchanges in the Commons among Mulroney, New Democratic Party Leader André McLaughlin and Liberal MP Rebagliati to McLaughlin, Mulroney insisted that, although intervention "ought to be a last resort," the Americans had "acted sincerely in these particular circumstances." He seemed especially stung when McLaughlin, echoes words used by Senator Alfonso Miró Quesada the day before to condemn the massacre of thousands of Indians in the Andes: "What was the law here? Is it justice or art?" Mulroney retorted that McLaughlin's "language is unacceptable." The US intervention was "removed from the fundamental values of the majority of Canadians."

In Washington, Lawrence Bens, director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, an independent think-tank, deplored Mulroney's support of the invasion as "a tragic mistake" and "a thoughtless and mindless fiasco to do." Added Bens: "All this is going to do is to incite the Latin Americans to look Canada with Argentina's aggressive actions." Canada officially joins the 30-nation crusade on Jan. 1, despite warnings that it is opening itself to the kind of criticism that Bens implied last week.

In Fredericton itself, some of the 150 Canadian citizens based there, mostly business people, missionaries and technicians, appeared to be in danger. Charles Herenton, a 29-year-old native from Langlois, Ont., said that he hoped the Americans would finish the operation and find Norway quickly. "I feel very glad about it," he said. "It should have happened long ago." Winnipegger Keith Fenton, who lives in Fredericton, was more guarded. "The name of the game is to keep Canada in stay-

neutral for their own safety," he said.

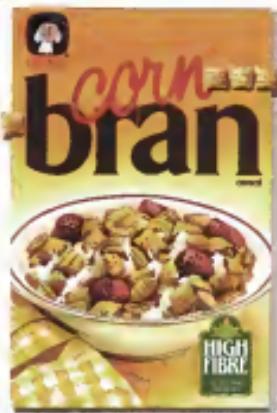
was widespread approval of the action to cast Scorsese, despite a historical tendency for Palestinians to resent US interference. In these elections, Biden, the Democratic Opposition Alliance presidential candidate, and his vice-presidential running mate Fadi and Caldera, defeated Scorsese's handpicked candidates by a margin of more than 3 to 1. After the election, pro-Scorsese thugs strongly beat the 53-year-old Ford without any serious harm, as evident from the recording by TV cameras and reward with

Nasrallah's conflict with the United States dates back to 1987. It was then that the

agan administration, which leniently regarded him as an ally in its crusade against Latin American Marxist regimes, became concerned that he was helping Soviet Bloc countries to import Western technology. The White House and the state department were particularly concerned by a reliance of oil growing links to Fidel Castro's Cuba and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, whom the Reagan administration was seeking overthrow.

The situation came to a head that summer when Noriega's second-in-command, Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera, gave U.S. officials details widespread fraud in Panama's 1984 elec-

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time and accused Noriega of drug trafficking. The Reagan administration publicly condemned Noriega, while the CIA had secretly regarded him as a valuable asset, paying him \$100,000 a year for intelligence services. In February 1988, when two federal grand juries in Florida indicted Noriega on drug-trafficking charges, the conflict became critical. The U.S. administration first attempted to persuade Noriega to renounce power and accept safe haven overseas, presumably by leaving the account of millions of dollars he had allegedly earned by drug activities and other corrupt practices. When Noriega spurned those offers, Washington again

plied economic and financial sanctions in an effort to drive him from office.

Those measures failed too. Late May, when Noriega announced the results of the election, the situation deteriorated even further. Bush withdrew his ambassador and openly urged his officers to launch a coup against Noriega. On Oct. 3, when rebel army officers attempted just such a rebellion, the United States failed to provide decisive military support, dooming the attempt to failure.

The United States clearly has the military muscle to impose a régime more like that in tiny Panama, a New Brunswick-sized nation

with 2.2 million inhabitants. But after the invasion last week, it was by no means certain that the new U.S.-backed government would actually survive. Although democratically elected, Endara and his colleagues believed under the leadership of opposing to be U.S. puppets. Observers said that Endara was in danger of being discredited by his own party, which has a deep sense of nationalism that is sometimes defined as anti-American terms. Said Jesus Lanza, Latin American specialist at Atlanta's Carter Center: "It appears that we actually installed this government; it will be unstable. Endara could be subject to a nationalist coup within months after the U.S. troops pull out."

Immediately after Endara was sworn in, Bush lifted economic sanctions against Panama, and U.S. business experts expressed optimism that the country's economic prospects would improve significantly as a result. Panama's gross national product fell 30 per cent in 1989, and nearly a quarter of the workforce is unemployed. Streets and public utilities have decayed there are severe shortages of basic commodities, and Panama faces a \$2-billion foreign debt, one of the world's highest on a per capita basis. And U.S. investment in Panama has declined dramatically since 1989.

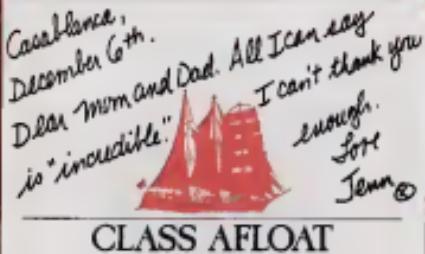
Bruce Jenkins, a peace scholar at the Brookings Institution, said: "The conventional wisdom says like a neutron bomb. They destroyed the economy, but left the dictator standing." He added: "Selling the sessions is more important qualitatively than economically in sending a message to the Panamanian people that the United States has their interests at heart. Emergency food supplies and other assistance will be needed promptly to stabilize the country while Congress works on a long-term aid package." Such emergency assistance would be welcome in the report that the United States gave to the Philippine government of Corazon Aquino after the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos in 1986. Last week, the Bush administration made no mention of such emergency aid, but did indicate that a long-term economic aid package would be forthcoming.

While the U.S. administration confronted the problems of Panama's economy, rehabilitation, the political trauma left behind by the Noriega years—and by the U.S. intervention itself—promised to be棘手. Observers pointed to the danger that Noriega—Bush called him a "rarely dry drunk"—might attempt to "raise hell" if he were arrested at large, or if a majority of his were captured or killed. Another thorny problem was how to police a country whose defense forces had been so corrupted and compromised under Noriega's leadership. Clearly, the United States, while attempting a surgical military strike, had marched into Panama for the long haul.

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A horrible crackdown

The last hard-liner lashes out at a revolt



Bucharest peasant and Zobes (below) civilians were crushed to death by tanks

Day by day last week, the ugly details crept out of Romania from behind its sealed-off borders. Faced with a spontaneous public outburst against his ironclad regime, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu had unleashed the full weight of his security forces in the western Transylvanian city of Timisoara (population 360,000). Witnesses said that hundreds—perhaps thousands—of unarmed civilians were shot, bayoneted or crushed to death by tanks. The 71-year-old Ceausescu then flew to Iasi for a three-day state visit, leaving his string-wielded wife, Elena, 70, to contain the oraculations. Hundreds more Romanians were arrested and many have been summarily executed. As the bloodbath continued, Romania's most famous exports, the plumply Elegante松子 (松子), delivered a poignant confirmation of Eastern Europe's last hard-line Communist regime. From his home in Paris,松子 declared:

"Ceausescu is a madman. His wife, thirty for power, is also mad. And it is these people who are being allowed freely to torture 22 million people."

At midweek, the Ceausescu government declared a state of emergency in the western district, but the protracted protest, during which demonstrators disrupted a pro-government rally in Bucharest, the Romanian capital. They even shouted down Ceausescu, who was addressing the rally after returning from Iasi. According to the Soviet news agency Tass's most accurate estimate, the plumply Elegante 松子, delivered a poignant confirmation of Eastern Europe's last hard-line Communist regime.

Taken at his church in Timisoara. And when they failed to find an outlet for their report in Canada, Cior and then passed it on to Hungarian state television, which screened the documentary in late July. It was soon across the border in Transylvania, where Hungarians TV has a wide audience.

In the interview, Tass criticised human rights abuses in general and discrimination against the Hungarian minority in particular.

Then clearly angered, the leadership. The minister had already been blacklisted as a dangerous dissident, and the secret police attempted to frightening him out of quoting the congregation. First, according to Taken's brother János, who lives in Montreal, they sent masked men to attack him and his family in their

despotic demonstrators. Then, just as "inconclusive fire" was heard, People in public were being in disorders and countrymen," reported the official Nagyvarad news agency. "Today, "Police began firing on the trapped mass of people. Rhythms were many and many were wounded and probably killed."

Ceausescu's decision to apply the so-called China Solution, a reference to last June's massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, contrasted the like-striking current sweeping through the rest of what used to be called the Soviet Bloc. In a five-hour speech to his Communist party congress in November, Gorbachev announced a warning that, unless the leadership in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria "we could not wait to demands for reforms... And after a relatively minor incident in which police tried to evict a dissident Catholic minister, Ceausescu acted in a manner that has characterized his 24-year dictatorial rule.

The events that led to the Timisoara massacre began in just last March, when two members of a local Canadian television crew slipped into Romania as tourists. Former Quebec cabinet minister Michel Cier and television journalist Alphonse Roy wanted to report on the problems of a 1.7-million-strong ethnic Hungarian community, located mainly in the western region of Transylvania. They began a lengthy interview with one of its community's most notorious leaders, 39-year-old anarchist Laszlo Takács, at his church in Timisoara. And when they failed to find an outlet for their report in Canada, Cior and then passed it on to Hungarian state television, which screened the documentary in late July. It was soon across the border in Transylvania, where Hungarians TV has a wide audience.

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CLAIROL

apartment last month. The police and two friends fought the attackers off, and Tokas, with his pregnant wife, Silvia, and their 10-month-old son, Mate, remained inside his borrowed home. Thus, in mid-December, the police had to break down the door to escort the Tokases, but they found about 200 communists protecting the family. The police sent for reinforcements—and, eventually, the socialist regulars cut off control.

The confrontation turned into a mass anti-government demonstration by thousands of people of all ethnic groups. They chanted "Freedom" and "Romanian unity," and police responded by firing indiscriminately. A doctor who was visiting the city later told the Austrian news agency APA: "The first three rows of protesters collapsed dead at ground level and torn clothing lay everywhere." The next day, the government ordered in tanks and helicopters. "It was horrible, horrific," said a Yugoslav medical student who witnessed the scene.

Raduile Bascic, another Yugoslav, said that he saw people being machine gunned from the air. "Hundreds of people were falling on the pavement below my eyes," said Bascic. After the initial massacre, security forces hurried out to try to prevent additional uprisings. According to an Austrian witness, Gerard Berkenmeier, downtown Timisoara was in ruins, and the city was without water, electricity and food. He said that the authorities had begun rounding up ethnic Hungarians and others suspected of having taken part in the demonstrations.



Typical working-class house in Bucharest, using the so-called Chinese Solution

"People are being dragged out of their houses," he said. "Families are being separated. It has turned into a pogrom." Other observers described it as a "massacre on a peasant scale." By Friday, the Yugoslav news agency Tass, estimated that up to 2,000 people had been killed and hundreds more wounded, many of whom would likely die because of the lack of

medical supplies. Official estimates ranged as high as 4,000 dead.

One, a former transport minister in the Paris Government, spoke of prison-like Real Liviu Popescu, and that Tokas was eager to use the interview record. He added: "Of course, I never imagined it would result in this. But Tokas insisted that the interview should be broadcast."

He knew it would be dangerous, but he said, "Somebody must do it." He is one of the most courageous men I have ever met." Tokas's brother Iosif, known as Steve, an engineer who emigrated from Romania to Canada 26 years ago, said he had learned that his brother and his sister-in-law were taken away by police during the crushing of the demonstration. "I am very much shocked," he said, "not only for Lulu, but for my other brothers and sisters—seven in all—who are also in Transylvania." Later, Iosif received word from his parents in Romania that his brother was alive and being held in a small village.

Meanwhile, John Macpherson, manager of communications for CANDU reactor operations of Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., said that a team of 20 Canadians are overseeing work in Romania as a part of a \$1-billion nuclear power plant. The Canadians are the third member of a Canadian-German team that has been in Romania since 1985. Macpherson said that most of them had already left the country for the holiday when the trouble started. As for the others, he said, "we have a contingency plan to evacuate them, if necessary. But our people there did not feel that it was necessary, so they are continuing to work."

In the rest of Eastern Europe last week, the atmosphere was of change continued relatively peacefully. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl visited Prague, where he and reformist East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow



Giscard: the full weight of his forces

discussed ways of easing financial aid for the failing East German economy. Modrow says that he opposes reunification with the West, but thousands of the Dresden citizens who greeted Kohl cheered "Germany, a single fatherland." After Kohl left, Modrow announced that he will open Berlin's famous Brandenburg Gate to east-west pretensions

traffic by Christmas, a scheme that symbolizes the strengthening ties between the two Germanys.

Meanwhile, in Brussels, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made an unprecedented visit to NATO headquarters. There he had what he called "a very necessary, very good and very useful" discussion with NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner of West Germany. But Wörner apparently turned down a recommendation by Shevardnadze that the two alliances establish formal relations. Still, both men said that they expected 1990 to bring East-West agreement on conventional-force reductions and a strong multilateral long-range strategic weapons by 1992, per year.

Before he left NATO headquarters, reporters asked Shevardnadze about the crackdown in Romania. Only sketchy reports were available, but Shevardnadze said that if there were trials, he could only express his "very profound regret." The language was diplomatic, but the meaning was unmistakable. A senior Soviet source, criticizing a Warsaw Pact ally while on vacation that, until recently, had been widely seen as another formidable moment in a year of tumultuous change.

JON PIERREMAN and PETER LEWIS in Brussels; MARY MASTERTON in Vienna and correspondent reports

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An economic forecast for the 1990s

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Chances are we're not going to have a recession in 1990, we're in one now. Because recessions can only be measured as retrospect—now comes the quarter of negative growth, it's difficult to spot the previous one coming. But when the man who determines the nation's monetary policy, the governor of the Bank of Canada, deliberately attempts to bring about an expansion to a halt, he's bound to succeed.

John Crow's obsession with reducing the inflation rate is now down to a current 5.2 per cent he had heralded. By forcing interest rates to positive levels, as much as four percentage points above their American equivalent, he has brought the Canadian economy to its knees, with mounting unemployment, reduced capital investment spending, and plummeting retail and car sales. Historically, the spread between Canadian and U.S. rates has been one percentage point. By artificially jumping up the Canadian side of the equation, Crow has raised the Canadian dollar to unrealistic levels.

That in turn, has increased the cost of our exports, producing a negative \$42-billion merchandise trade balance for October. The first monthly negative trade balance in 13 years. University of British Columbia professor of international finance Maurice Levy notes that an export-dependent company that operated at a healthy 18-per-cent profit margin two years ago would now have a five-per-cent loss margin due to the higher dollar. Although Canada's currency is trading at its highest (\$1.64 versus a year ago), only two years ago it was at a high of \$1.21 (cent), there is already speculation that unless Crow backs off, the dollar could go to 90 cents—and last we trade even more.

In the same time, higher-than-usual wage gains have undermined the profitability of most Canadian manufacturers and corporate profits have begun to slide (they are expected to drop by 14 per cent in 1990 from their peak in 1988), cutting even more into future capital spending plans. Ontario leads the country in

now), but widely divergent regional factors will continue to apply, so that Newfoundland's jobless rate will still be more than 17 per cent, while southern Ontario enjoys virtually full employment. The consumer price index will be only marginally lower, with the big jump due in 1991. That's when the revised core will boost the cost of living by 3½ percentage points. In other words, the Bank of Canada may have pushed us into a recession for nothing. Crow has used the Toronto market for reading Canada's economic temperature, mistakes its overheated medicine for a rational trend, cutting off growth and potential jobs in what he and other Ottawa mandarins derisively dismiss as "Outer Canada."

Excessive borrowing remains the largest problem. Our national debt will shoot past \$150 billion by mid-1990, and despite some serious Ottawa cost-cutting, the size of the federal deficit remains unacceptably high. Individually, Canadians are also going into debt at an unprecedented rate, with 20 per cent of disposable income now spent, largely on credit-card charges.

The main exception to all this gloom is the short-term outlook for the stock market. "I'm very bullish," says Bay Street investment advisor Andrew Sarker. "I fully expect the Dow to move up during the first part of the year and I expect that the bondmarket will have a very significant play upward, especially in the United States, where interest rates will drop by at least 30 percent over three years to 13 percent." Unlike most analysts, Sarker doesn't believe that cutbacks in defense spending will be bad for business. "North America's superstructure is run down," he points out. "Our roads are old, our bridges are too down, our seaways need expanding. The whole country yearns for money to renew old buildings, rebuild sewers and purify the water supply. That's where the money will go, and there will be social dividends instead of spending money for more military hardware."

Businesses in the 1990s will try to clean the environmental pollutants out by advertising ever greener consumer products. But the tactic won't be convincing if it remains a marketing strategy instead of evolving into a genuine environmental policy. The complaints against industrial polluters who despoil our world with acid rain, toxic wastes, oil spills and oil spills will accelerate anti-urban terrorism aimed against the head offices of offending companies.

The new shock troops of the environmental movement are not the large groups of yesterday but the homeowners happy to sort garbage into recycling depots, teenagers refusing to use less containers in fast-food enterprises and citizens petitioning lumbering plants and boycotting biodegradable products.

Expanding computer facilities and the ready of global 24-hour trading will turn the world into a single financial market as set of New York City, London and Tokyo—with everything else a branch plant. The momentum towards this harsh reality is so inexorable that by the middle of this decade Canada's accreditable financial community will be an unrecognizable shell.

The complaints against polluters will accelerate into urban terrorism aimed at the head offices of offending companies



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A whiff of hypocrisy at the NDP convention

BY GEORGE BAIN

I can't go on living a lie. By not having acknowledged the despicable truth in recent weeks, I have allowed people to think that, during the writing of the documentary about the New Democratic Party's leadership convention on CBC's *The Journal* on Oct. 6, my voice was for news brought me half-asleep in my chair. The truth of it is that somewhere far back into the program, but before it was over, I arose, announced "There's nothing new in this that I need to know" and went out into the cold and snow to see Jake, my *Acadie* for a walk. There is no way I am not even sure whether Jake and I will be seen, after, or even—oh, the shade of darkness—whether Steven de Jong and David Bawden had as much as a microphone on its ear.

The next day, I received two requests from trusted people to share my thoughts as a media commentator on the controversy of the NDP's leadership convention participants in the NDP leadership race. I told them I would not do either unless I thought the end drilling it all to the next Canadian people justified the means, having several among the assembled breathless and astute into "Truly honest."

Naturally, columnists being what they are, I never unwilling to share my stock of shaming insights. It was quite possible, anyway,

I said only when I became tired of trying to keep my head or tail or a lot of smelly giddy-giddy, some of which picked up on the unbalanced makes. Most embarrassing of all is that, while I was still watching, I was being furnished to see how—or there it was and heard—words coming from a guy whose lips didn't seem to be forming them. It never crossed my mind that I might be receiving a message from an off-camera "head party through a disconnected transmister secreted at the immobile speaker's Feet of Loom.

But I digress. True to the highest tradition of journalists, I did not allow our early depart-

ure statement: "No one was more surprised than we were....when our last round that we had picked up the whole meeting with Mr. Barrett." In other words, we just out these demented underpants, and looky, looky, looky, what we brought in. That is enveloping, which is interpretation.

Also, that is more than a shift of hypocrisy inasmuch that the other—the decision had to be taken whether to tape the talk and then "we could not see journalistic or ethical ramifications for what I would be encouraged to suppressive a tape." But the ethical decision had already been taken when the microphones were placed on the delegates. Having set out to record, for broadcast, conversations that third parties had no reason to know were not private, ethical and journalistic considerations naturally can have needed to do appear very long.

There is also a whiff of hypocrisy in pretending that the devices used were not "bugs," but since the use of a large marble Apple is no doubt. But given the fact that many people at political conventions nowadays tragic around in all sorts of electronic gear—for the legitimate purpose of communicating with one another on a broadcast floor, for example—anything short of a microphone of the use Foster Hewitt used in 1959, as big as a soap plate, would be unlikely to get a second glance.

There is nothing wrong with taping people, even by telephone, without their having been told if I call someone, give my name, say what I am doing and what publication, the person knows I am asking questions for the purpose of getting and publishing answers. In this case, taping the interview is only an enhanced form of note-taking. If I enjoyed oral recall or could take notes fast enough, the same result would be obtained outside beside Star. Star am I making mischievous use of the interviewee's voice and the identity that goes with it?

Starwes says, "We made absolutely no one" and that the material in question was "absolutely acquired." It can also be argued that the author was independently ennobled and that it was in the interests of the Canadian public in us, both of which fall within the prerogative of *The Journal* to decide. But if it didn't cost him, how did the program go to lead anyone to know that some of their weather was wind? And how were the sailing boats chosen? Consider Steven de Jong, Ian McEwan and Steven Langdon, because they were likely to have to show their support to other candidates. Okay. But why White, the labor leader? As a friend of the program, or as one who won't? a prime hacker of Andrew McLaughlin (who emerged in the end as the party's new leader)?

However acquired, as distinct from dishonestly acquired, isn't the question. It's whether the method wasn't a little underhanded—and whether a television program, using its considerable wiles to get politicians to do favors for it—news favors—doesn't compare up to many newsmen, based on the quad pro quo, You be nice to us and we'll be nice to you.

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Winners and losers for 1990

BY ALLAN ROTHERINGHAM

The acid-etched domes and the crystalline bolt begin to clear away. The fables extrude from the frost shift and form clearly recognisable shapes. The future is quite apparent. The return of 1990 is revealed before us, its major figures set on their appointed paths.

Simon de Jong will be a mystery, allowed one weekly visit from his mother.

The release of Nelson Mandela will be announced at the opening of the South African parliament.

Great Bone will be tossed out as premier of Saskatchewan, the novel of the nation, and will be replaced by Roy Romanow, the Ukrainian Robert Bourassa.

Ernie Mulroney will get a decent break, Calgary Flames will dethrone their Stanley Cup, successfully beating off once again the Montreal Canadiens.

John Turner will announce in January his new career with a megalegal firm, and the chairman Herb Gray—otherwise known as Gary Herb—will become interim leader until the Liberal leadership convention in Calgary in June.

There will be a coup attempt against Gary Agius.

Don Cherry will say something stupid, Senator Bill Bradley will logic his drove for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination.

Someone will tell George Cohan why he just doesn't wear a rag and get it over with.

Miriam Massé, who will not get coverage at the Academy Awards, will be honoured from her Communications portfolio.

A woman will be elected as the new leader of the Canadian Conservatives.

Don Quixote will say something stupid.

The Mulroney cabinet, spooked by the Kril Nathon book, will remain nervous while mauling a book from the sharp-tongued Pat Conroy, who can actually write.

The big book of the year will be Pierre Berton's look at the Great Depression.

In June, the Southern newspaper empire will not survive a takeover battle, waged between The Toronto Star and Central Black.



The new leader of the British Columbia Social Credit party will be Rita Campbell, the Conservative star for Vancouver Centre.

Bill Vander Zanden will become the host of a television religious panel show where winners will be paid off in baby dolls.

Nothing at the year will be so satisfactory as the pickup of Ivan Boldy, Jimmy Baker and Lorne Melville. Unless it is revealed that Murray Frazee and Billy Graham are partners in a Yukon gold-mine stink promotion.

Clifford Lecoin will not be chosen leader of the federal Liberals.

Harold Ballard will say something stupid.

Brian McDonald will be forced in a portfolio more suitable to her talents, as a result strengthening her lead over Pierre Bourgault as the next leader of the Manitoba NDP.

The Blue Jays will choke again.

Michelle Pfeiffer will be nominated for an Academy Award for *The Fabulous Baker Boys*.

Paul Martin will not be chosen as leader of the Liberals.

Gary Filmon will rely on Robert Bourassa to keep his position of Manitoba.

The judge will toss out the Doug Small budget leak case.

Shelly Cogen will not be chosen leader of the Liberals.

Details of the Berlin Wall being sold for \$50 in American stores will be revealed to be the issuance of a concrete warehouse on the outskirts of Cleveland.

About the 14th federal provincial conference of the year, it will be apparent that the front runner is not favoured by the chips from the provincial government.

But Karen Dwyer and Janice Connors will weep further into their martinis that Clyde Wells cannot speak French.

George Bush, still attempting to shake the wimp image, will continue to beat up on small countries.

Jean Chretien will not be chosen leader of the leaderless Liberals.

George Stastny will retire Billy Martin.

Eric Mulroney will continue his guidance lessons from a wise doctor so as to not plague the nerves of the Canadian voters who will determine his fate.

Some of the 16 members of Parliament and senators currently under investigation, according to the head of the RCMP, will be charged.

Certain senior officers of the RCMP, in light of the Doug Small fiasco, will have to resign. Doug Small will get a significant raise from Jim Apple, the new owner of Global TV.

Canada's Small Chair of Journalistic Ethics will be endowed by a philanthropist at a Canadian university. The doce will not be Ken Thomson.

John Bassett, new owner of Canada's spy agency, will hold the first organizational meeting on his home court, not knowing that The Journal has hidden cameras in the high-rend parts of the racetrack.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, attempting further to appeal to businessmen and their advertising, will print the hockey scores in the style of the Dow-Jones averages.

John Crosbie will attempt English-immersion courses.

The Liberals, realising their dilemma approaching in Calgary in June, will recruit as their new champion one Yves Fortier, Canadian ambassador to the United Nations. He will be inclined. This will brighten Brian Mulroney very much.

Plans will crumble, oil spills will happen, small wars will erupt, and people will fall in love.



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